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ABSTRACT

This lesson plan uses a poem about a specific battle as the starting point for a secondary educational sheltered/bilingual program for limited-English-proficient (LEP) students in San Diego, California. The plan is to use primary and secondary documentation to view both sides of the battle that prompted the writing of the poem. Goals of the program include greater student self-esteem and greater understanding of a historical event through improved reading, writing, and overall expression in the English language. Homework and parent/community involvement activities are suggested, and photos and drawings of relevant places which help to explain the situation are included. Much historical background is provided, including an actual bullet (not included here). (NAV)

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ED 389 199

Bilingual/Cross Cultural Teaching Program

A HISTORICAL ODDYSEY: RESEARCH OF THE OPPOSING PERSPECTIVES OF THE BATTLE OF SAN PASQUAL

A Specially Adapted Unit PLAN

For
Secondary Educational
Sheltered/Bilingual Programs

Presented to

Dr. Carmen Sadek of

San Diego State University

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by

David Gastellum, Julie Jacobson, Angela Shaw, Barbara Shreves

MAY 23, 1995

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THE BATTLE OF SAN PASQUAL

'We laid the brave men that so suddenly died
ere they marched o'er the land they had barely espied.
Then peaceful their sleep in the lone grave shall be...
No foe with their chargers and lances draw nigh -
No grief o'er their graves but the zephyrs soft sigh.
Farewell: we have left thee: companions in arms;
Our lives may be joyful or filled with alarms,
Whatever our joy or our sorrow may be,
We'll remember the graves by the lone willow tree.'

by Dr. E. D. French

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6

by Dr. E. D. French

I. Introduction
   A. The goal of the California State Program for Students of Limited English Proficiency is to produce Fluent English Proficient (FEP) students that will function successfully in mainstream English-speaking classes.
   B. There have been many historical accounts of the Battle of San Pasqual and just as many different or disputed 'factual interpretations' of this same conflict. The battle of San Pasqual continues to rage even in the twentieth century as historians are engaged in open debate on many of the details that surround this intriguing event. Historians continue to maintain diverse assessments of the recorded facts. However, one dominant fact prevails: few historians have been able to agree on the circumstances surrounding the battle. The basic issue of whether the victory was the American's (Kearny's) or the Mexican's (Pico's) remains in debate. Available accounts emphasize Kearny's trek across the continent and his 'debatable' victory at San Pasqual.

II. Outline of Content
   A. Geographic content of the battle of San Pasqual.
   B. People/Groups involved in the battle.
   C. Desert/Mountain environments.
   D. Timeline of march and battle.
   E. Goals, motivation and results of the battle.

III. Unit Goals
   A. Student will understand the hardships endeavered traveling from Missouri all the way to the west coast.
      1) Given pictures, students will be able to name and identify geographic locations and diverse land formations.
      2) Students will be able to verbalize the effects of shortage of food and water in relation to the distance and terrain.
   B. Students will be able to draw their own conclusions from opposing primary and secondary documentation.
      1) Students experience that there can be diverging opinion on the same historical incident.
      2) Students understand the idea of seeing the same incident from a different perspective.

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Introduction (cont.)

IV. Description of Assessment

Student will develop a portfolio including all the weeks work from the various classes. Items will be collected daily and returned to the students for their portfolios. The portfolios will show that the student's are 'conscientious' and 'participative'.

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Reading Packet
Outline of Content
Sources for Unit

Secondary Source

1. "Silver Dons; The History of San Diego" by Richard F. Pourade

2. Californio View Of "The Battle of San Pasqual". by David R. Gastellum.

Primary Sources

3. "Memories of an Old Man"; abstracted from Pablo Vejar.

4. "San Pasqual" Notes of Benjamin Hayes.

5. Roman Asuna: An Interview by Edgar Hasting.

6. Pioneer data from 1832: From the Memories of Don Juan Foster.

7. Feticita, from Escondido Times-Advocate November 3, 1916.

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Homework Assignments

On day 1, students will be assigned homework for the entire week. The assignments are expected to be completed by the end of the week. One activity is for the students to go out into their community and interview a Veteran of War. Possible sources could be family members, teachers, church members, neighbors, and any armed forces agency. Another day's assignment is for students to write about a personal experience where their perspective of the incident differed from someone else who also experienced. it.

Parent/Community Involvement

Parents will be encouraged throughout the weeks activities to participate in preparation and performance of culminating activities. These activities include construction of musical instruments, development and performance of plays.

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SELF-ESTEEM
OBJECTIVE AND GOALS

1. **Dedicated** - Continue working when others give up. Start early, stay late, work for quality.

2. **Courteous** - Students work in cooperative groups and demonstrate courteous behavior by acknowledging needs of others by helping, sharing, and supporting the academic needs of classmates.

3. **Self-controlled** - When others are acting out, set an example rather than joining in with the inappropriate behavior. When confronted by a peer in a negative manner, react positively.

4. **Participative** - Students work in cooperative groups and volunteer to help others complete assignments. Checks with teacher for correctness of work.

5. **Cooperative** - Work in cooperative groups, comply with the teachers requests, and your peer requests (if appropriate).

6. **Sensitive** - Be attentive to others needs, listen well so you know how others feel.

7. **Creative** - Use all your resources and abilities as well as your peers. Be open minded to suggestions which may lead to new ideas.

8. **Efficient** - Finish work in a timely manner. Don't waste unnecessary time. Utilize all materials that are available.

9. **Conscientious** - Work is neat and complete. Student follows directions and tries to do best, stay on task, select positive role models.

10. **Hard working** - Students remain on task for entire time allotted. Students do not stop until goal is achieved.

11. **Analytical** - Look for alternative ways to resolve problems, complete tasks, and deal with peers. Be able to self evaluate and accept others suggestions.

12. **Persistent** - Don't give up. Keep working on tasks until completed. If you have a good idea, continue with it.

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DAY1 **ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT**

Refer to Vocabulary for Day 1

PRE-PRODUCTION	Show stùdents a map of the United States, and map on P.98 of the test . Have students point to different geographical locations when teacher names them (See. Voc - Day 1). Students will make a list of all cities and rivers.
EARLY PRODUCTION	1) Instructor shows pictures from magazines of different geological formations. 2) Label pictures (rivers, valleys, plateaus, etc.). 3) List geographical names under categories.
SPEECH EMERGENCE	Have students state in a sentence; using the proper names & category, from the talking chart. Example: California is a state in the United States. Students then form groups, and share work (See voc - Day 1).
INTERMEDIATE FLUENCY	Have students look at map & answer questions based on geographical locations & terms. For example, have the students compare and contrast different geographical land formations.

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DAY 1	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
LANGUAGE ARTS	Discuss voc of "Western United States" that the Dragoons marched through on their way to California (see map on page 98)	The students are provided with relevant quotes from the text. In cooperative groups, they read the provided sentences and develop a list of geographic locations and enter them on a prepared map.
MATH	Instruct students about the concept of an average and practice with examples. Discuss concepts of legend & key. Stress vocabulary related to mathematical terms.	Chart, on a U.S.map the 1600 mile military march of Gen. Stephen Watts Kearney. Figure total mileage (exactly) using a key or legend, and estimate average mile per day. Chart to see if an alternate, shorter, and move navigatable route was possible.
SOCIAL STUDIES	Students learn about the importance of San Pascual.	Only international battle the U.S. ever lost on its own territory. Teacher gives overall story & discuss importance. Teacher's lecture to include geographical vocabulary. In cooperative groups students share experiences with each other and then with entire class. Hand out voc. list of geographical locations. Using brainstorming techniques, teacher encourages student to relate personal experiences in relationship to travel & geographical locations from vocab. list.

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DAY 1	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
SCIENCE	Students learn about & explain terms related to the varied characteristics of different land forms.	Teacher discusses general geological terms of the Southwest. (See voc. - Day 1)
ART	Students color in a map of a river, lake or plateau. Teacher explains SDAIE activity to be performed.	In groups, students using clay make a model of a geographical land form. A plateau, mesa, passages, rivers or lakes.
MUSIC	Students practice and learn title of the Ballad of San Pasqual.	Students locate setting on a topographical map. Students will listen to different compositions from the era composed or from similar battles and written about this historical incident.
P.E.	Students review concept of weights & its physical toll on the body.	Each student tries on backpacks with varying weights loaded with sand to simulate travel of soldiers.
DRAMA	Drama students discuss list of geographical terms of monologues.	Teacher reviews list of geographical terms. Students write a monologue based on a personal experience of travel. Students must include vocab. from list of geographical locations.

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VOCABULARY

DAY 1

Countries/States

United States
New Mexico
California
Missouri

Cities/Areas

San Diego
Los Angeles
Indiana
Sonora
Mason
Agna Caliente
Santa Ysabel
Alamo Mocha
San Pasqual
Seely
Temecula
Stockton
Gila Junction
Vallecito
Mexicale
Santa Maria
Torrey Pines

Mountains/Passes

Sierra Nevada
Cuyamaca Mountains
Donna Pass
San Felipe Pass

Rivers/Lakes

Colorado River
Lake Hodges
San Louis Rey River
Cariso Creek
Lake Henshaw
Los Penasquitos Creek

Valleys/Canyons

Imperial Valley
Soledad Valley
Earthquake Valley
San Pasqual Valley
El Cajon Valley
Ramona Valley
Mission Valley
Currizo Corridor
Clevengo Canyon
Rose Canyon

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DAY2

ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Refer to Vocabulary for Day 2

PRE-PRODUCTION	Show pictures of historical figures and clothing from the time period (early to mid 1800's). Students will identify the historical figures and clothing using pictures or authentic items (clothing, weapons, etc.).
EARLY PRODUCTION	Using pictures and models, students will label items and compare and contrast past weapons & clothing to todays.
SPEECH EMERGENCE	Students in pairs will review Social Studies historical figures and choose one to write a short summary on.
INTERMEDIATE FLUENCY	Students in pairs will review Social Studies historical figures and choose one to write a short summary on, and present to the class.

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DAY 2	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
LANGUAGE ARTS	Students will discuss voc. from the Day2 voc (People Involved & Clothing sec). Teacher will discuss characters & different grps of people involved in the story "The Silver Dons".	In cooperative groups each group of students is provided with text excerpts about the different parties involved in the story from which they will put together as much knowledge as possible about those parties. Then they will identify with that group or person and present their character/group to the class.
MATH	Students review voc. related to estimation of supply & demand.	Estimate per day how much food and water was needed for the company for the entire month of March. How many supply wagons were needed and how often did they have to restock their supplies. Was there adequate water sources along the way?
SOCIAL STUDIES	Review names of historical figures in voc. list, and the importance of each. Show pictures of clothing they may have worn and supplies used during that time period.	Study & research major characters & organizations. Students will be provided in the lecture with a short history of The Lancers, A. Pico, Gen. Kearney, Kit Carson and the Californio's. Have students break into groups & discuss these historical characters. Each student is responsible for writing a 1/2 page summary on a chosen character.

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DAY 2	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
SCIENCE	Students review what emotional strengths and weaknesses are and give an example of each.	Discuss group dynamics and decide what physical and emotional strengths would be needed to endure this trip. Interview each other to see if they would be a viable candidate for the journey. Begin sharing results.
MUSIC	Teacher will explain the lesson's objective which will be to identify the instruments which are used for battles as opposed to instruments that the composer used to create the impression of moving water.	Practice & locate voc from Day 1 rivers & lakes, and Day 5 battle actions. Students will then listen to arrangements depicting a battle as well as arrangements depicting rivers & waters. Using the voc, students will describe the differences between both.
ART	Students review the concepts and purposes of shields in battle and their personal significance.	Discuss & compare shields of different eras. Design a shield that the major characters might have used.
P.E.	Students discuss archery, lances, concepts of activities from that historical time period. Teacher models activities to be performed.	Discuss games and activities from that time period and play a select few, like "Mark your target with the lance" where students play a stick-on dart game, or "Archery", using arrows.
DRAMA	Teacher to discuss clothing voc. and help students revise, edit or practice monologues.	Students dress up in costumes from that time period and read their personal monologues.

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VOCABULARY

DAY 2

PEOPLE/GROUPS

United States Army

Army of the West
First Dragoons
- -Gen. Kearny
- -Kit Carson
- -Gen. Castro
- -Major Swords
- -Cap. Abraham Johnson
- -Cap. B. D. Moore

Gillespie & his volunteers

Californios

Mexicans
Senoran horse thieves
Dons
- -Jose Joaquin Ortega
- -Jose Antonio Pico

Don's Costumes

Traditional rich, ornamented costumes
Leathern Cairasses to protect bodies
Serape over one shoulder
Leather shield with Castilian herald
Gay pennants fluttered from their lances.

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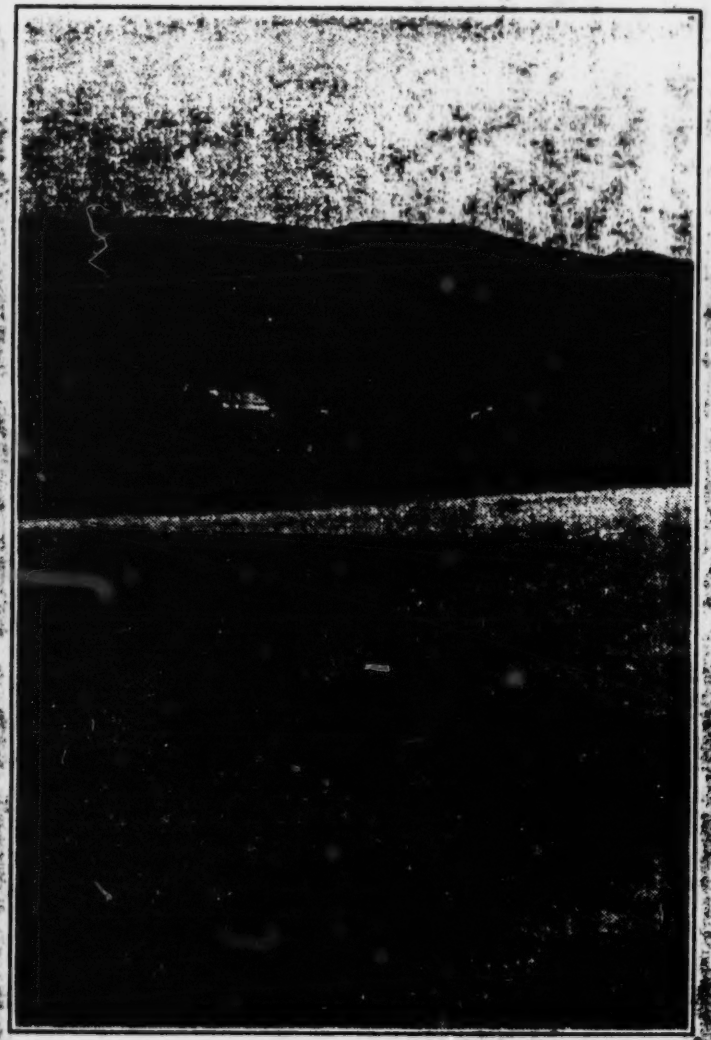

PHOTO BY C. B. TODD

BURNT OF FIRST BATTLE OF SAN PASQUAL.
The bridge is on the right, down stream. The river has slightly eroded Cemetery Hill where the Indian Village once stood.

PHOTO BY C. B. TODD

SUMMIT OF STARVATION PEAK
Scene of the Last Stand of San Bernardo.

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DAY3

ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Refer to Vocabulary for Day 3

PRE-PRODUCTION	Show pictures of desert and mountainous regions. Provided with labels, students match labels with pictures, within cooperative groups.
EARLY PRODUCTION	Students find own pictures in magazines of desert and mountainous regions and label pictures. They will produce a sentence for each label.
SPEECH EMERGENCE	Students will find pictures in magazines, as well as bring photographs to class. Students will describe animal and plant life in these areas as well as depict life in these areas.
INTERMEDIATE FLUENCY	Students develop and dramatize a short skit based on possible experiences traveling through these areas. Students will develop questions which be used for Friday's jeopardy game, related to voc-Day 3.

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DAY 3	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
LANGUAGE ARTS	Brainstorm all facts, feelings, knowledge students possess regarding environ. voc. Draw pictures of their favorite environ. habitat.	As class develops a talking chart of desert/mountain/valley environ., consulting specially selected sentences of the text. In cooperative groups the student picks one of the environments and create a story crossing their selected environment.
MATH	Show pictures of travel brochures and explain concepts of charting. Discuss varied brochures and the details each contains.	Create a travel brochure charting the trail and many of its stops along the way. List costs then and now for travel, entertainment & meals. Compare & contrast. Figure total mileage, using key or legend, and est. average mileage per day. Chart to see if an alternate, shorter, and more navigable route was possible.
SOCIAL STUDIES	Discuss and show pictures of areas in the world where weather does change noticeably, and contrast them with areas that don't change as noticeably.	Brief lecture on weather & topographical conditions along the journey with major areas of the journey and its surroundings. Students are to coordinate and plot Gen. Kearney's trek. Color and design coordinating legend. Be creative!
SCIENCE	Students will discuss their experiences or knowledge of the desert and mountain regions and generate their voc. list.	Students begin making a diagram or trail of desert or mountain environment. Label externally using voc from Day 3.

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DAY 3	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
MUSIC	Students review voc. Students will learn and practice vocabulary words from the first five lines of the ballad. Teacher will explain forthcoming lesson.	Teachers will bring in pictures of funerals & students will generate voc list of related emotions. (sorrow, grief, sadness, etc.) Teacher plays ballad to students repeatedly until students are able to recognize & produce every word of first five lines.
ART	Students analyze the different pictures of mountain & desert scenes, practicing voc. related to artistic techniques.	Using water colors, students create their own picture of a desert or mountain scene. Teacher models different techniques and brush strokes. Many examples are displayed.
P.E.	Explain the purpose of the activity and practice voc. relating to desert mountain environment.	Walk around the track with weighted packs (representing the desert) or up the stadium steps with weighted packs (representing the mountain trek). They choose which environment to experience, and they convince each other as to which environment was the harshest.
DRAMA	Students will discuss objective of the assignment and will explain each major component to be included in the drama.	Start formulation of play reenacting the Battle of San Pasqual, implementing, major characters, costumes, hardships & ordeals.

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VOCABULARY

DAY 3

Desert Descriptions

white drifting sand dunes
bed of a lost sea
200 feet below sea level
salt lake
salty feats
dry canyons
heavy sand
dreary desert

Desert Conditions

worst stretch of marsh
water receded to a pool
diminished to one half
thick, soapy quagmire
wholly unfit for man and brute

Accessories

Trapper
Guide

Related Weather

poured in torrents
drenching the party
heavy rain
cold, wet night
cold, frosty morning
much rain had fallen
in the cold of the San Diego Mountains

Mountain Descriptions

mountain edge
white granite

Mountain Conditions

slow rising climb
impassable
rocky & difficult trail
covered with rocks & stones
ascent the mountain
difficult climbs
down the mountain

Plants

Mesquite trees
Drenopodiaceous shrub
Oakes
Sycamores of great size & age
Wild Oats
Willow tree

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PLATE III

a. SAN DIEGO MISSION

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b. SAN CARLOS MISSION

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DAY4

ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Refer to Vocabulary for Day 4

PRE-PRODUCTION	Instructor will model a personal timeline for the students describing each major event. Students will practice how to express years (in 1994, 1993, etc.).
EARLY PRODUCTION	Instructor will model expressions of times relation to an event. Students will within groups make 10 sentences about any major events in their life including day, month and year.
SPEECH EMERGENCE	Given a timeline including specific dates and events, they will verbalize the information and in groups work on eight sample sentences.
INTERMEDIATE FLUENCY	Given a blank timeline, student will work in cooperative groups to depict the life and major events of a fictional or non-fictional character. Teacher provides Bibliographies of persons from diverse cultural backgrounds. Students will develop questions from voc-Day 4, to be used for jeopardy game which will be played on Day 5.

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DAY 4	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
LANGUAGE ARTS	Discuss the concept of a timeline & review pertinent vocabulary from talking chart.	Students develop a timeline of their own lives, and write their lives story in an essay.
MATH	Continue travel brochure discussions and ideas.	Continue working on travel brochure.
SOCIAL STUDIES	Students review voc. pertinent to talking chart & discuss map on P.99.	Short intro & description of what a timeline consists of, how it is diagramed as well as its advantages for learning historical events. Class breaks up into groups with the following items: butcher paper, colored pencils, crayons and documents. Students are to create their own time line of the important activities of the journey. Students will find important dates and activities from their primary source material.

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DAY 4	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
SCIENCE	Review voc. again related to desert & mountain regions, plus any life forms indigenous to the regions.	Continuing to work on and complete diorama's.
MUSIC	Teacher explains that the ballad will be completed. Students will learn meaning of voc from lines six through nine and practice it.	Teacher shows video clips of fare-well scenes from news, commercials or movies. Students generate voc list about feelings & actions related to good-bye scenes. Teacher plays recording of ballad & students recognize & produce all words of ballad lines 6 through 9. Students sing words to song to a known tune of teachers choice.
ART	Students will discuss the objective of the assign-ment, combining pictures with the timeline, & each student will present a verbal summary of what they plan to demonstrate in their timeline.	Students will draw & color pictures of the main events from their time-lines. Pictures should be of appropriate size to attach to the timeline. Attach pictures to timeline.
P.E.	Explain activity	The track is now developed into a timeline and at each stage of this timeline they will perform an activity.
DRAMA	Review voc. students need to complete drama. Each student gives an oral description of their play.	Continue to work or play and complete. Prepare for tomorrows performance. Invite parents.

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VOCABULARY

DAY 4

Numbers/Dates	Activities
1846	Camp
on November 25	rest
The second camp	resume the march
2nd day	rested for a day
4th Camp	trudged for 2 days
9 O'clock	

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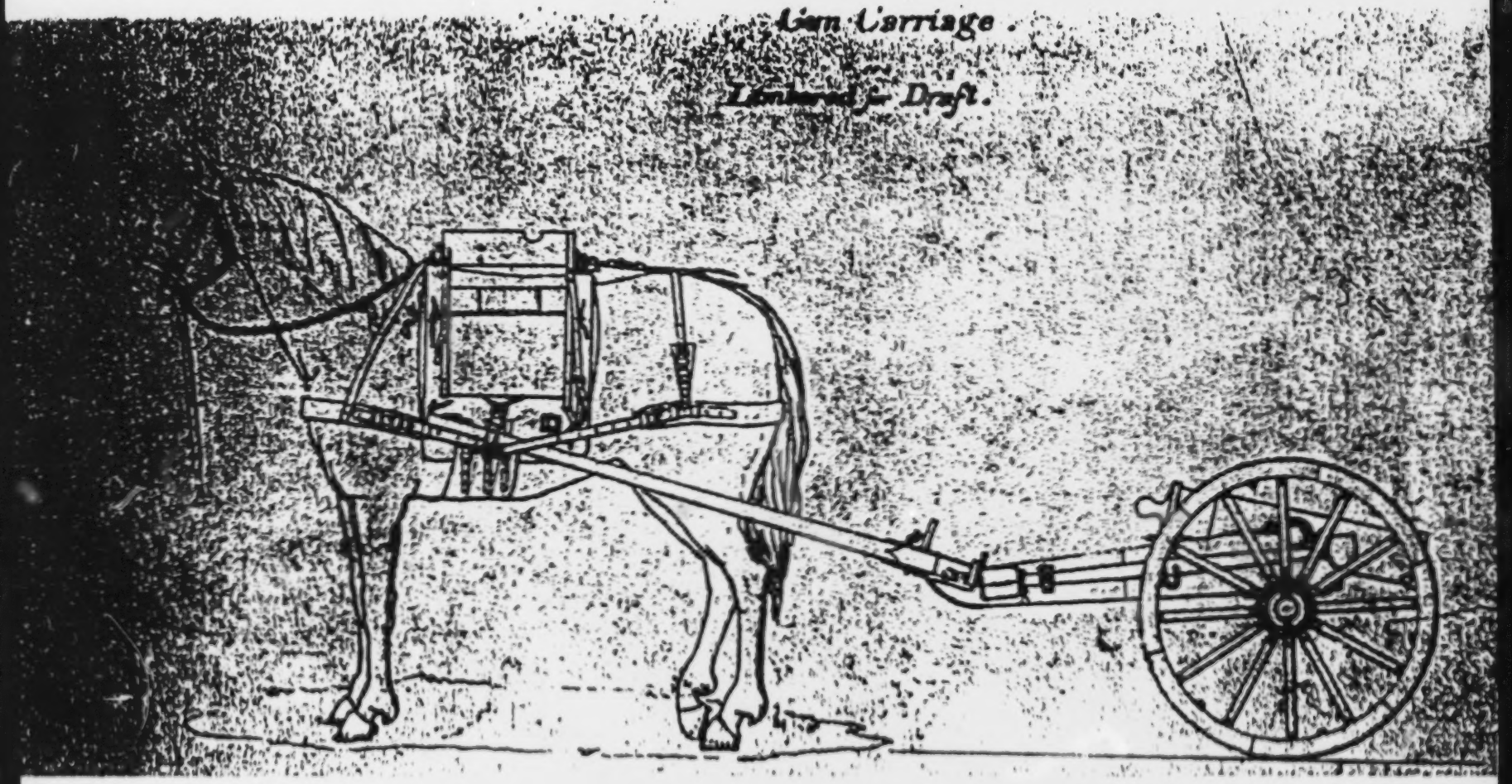

TWELVE-POUND BRONZE MOUNTAIN HOWITZER

Type used by General Kearny in 1846

Photograph supplied by U. S. Ordnance Department

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DAY5

ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Refer to Vocabulary for Day 5

PRE-PRODUCTION	Students play bingo with vocabulary from entire unit.
EARLY PRODUCTION	Students use words, which are previously matched, in sentences of their own. Students then participate in matching voc. test.
SPEECH EMERGENCE	Students match words written on vocabulary cards with 3 other words in same category, and use the word in a sentence.
INTERMEDIATE FLUENCY	Students play jeopardy with all vocabulary from the unit's "talking charts". The categories also include questions about the journey, battle, the motivations, and the result. One side of room plays against the other. Teams accumulate points as students answer questions correctly.

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DAY 5	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
LANGUAGE ARTS	Discuss concepts of motivation. Play bingo with Day 5 vocabulary.	In cooperative groups the students read preselected sections of the text and create a semantic map, showing interrelated concepts and ideas, to demonstrate how different groups in the story interact and relate to each other. Share with class.
MATH	Discuss vocabulary. Howitzer activity. Discuss problem solving and analytical techniques in their own lives.	Determine if transporting the howitzers the entire way was worth it, (small cannons which needed wagons to pull them, gunpowder, and 12 lb. balls to fire out of them) was worth it, or would it have been less costly and more advantageous for battle to transport rifles and pistols with the appropriate ammunition (gun powder & pellets). Howitzers could do more overall damage, but was it worth it for the extra days of travel and extra wagons. 12 lb. balls as opposed to powder and pellets.

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DAY 5	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
SOCIAL STUDIES	Discuss the background of the motivation behind the war, and the concepts of diverse opinions. Relate this with students' personal concrete experiences.	Short introduction and discussion on U.S. motives for the Mexican-American War. Teacher hands out controversial statements & opinions of political opinions of Mexican-American War. Students review hand-out individually. Class breaks up into groups, and comes up with a group opinion for the motives behind the Mexican-American War. Each group presents their interpretations and class then questions each others opinions in an open class discussion. Groups will generate an impromptu dialogue and read it out loud. When another group says "FREEZE", this group takes the places and postures of the original group, and then acts out their own opinions about the motives of the Battle of San Pasqual.
SCIENCE	The instructor discusses the cannon and the Howitzer as the most powerful weapons of that time period.	The instructor uses hair spray cannon to demonstrate power of the parabolic arc effect.
MUSIC	Students will receive instructions about creating their own interpretation of the ballad. Together, students will do a choral reading of the ballad.	In heterogeneous cooperative groups, students will select from 5 possible musical styles (opera, rap, pop, etc.), to create their own interpretation of the ballad. Students will perform their composition for the class.

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DAY 5	PRIMARY LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION	SPECIALLY DESIGNED ACADEMIC CONTENT IN ENGLISH
ART	Students discuss the aspects of a battle, focusing on voc. Brainstorm possible art projects related to that topic.	Using the diverse mediums available, students will create a painting, or piece of art entitled "Battle". Teachers give examples of modern art or past students' work.
P.E.	Instructor will explain the various aspects to be accomplished in the relay race, and its objective.	Students are divided into two teams, the Dons and the U.S. Army. They participate in relay races through an obstacle course, simulating the week's activities. Self-esteem will be enhanced through participation and peer encouragement.
DRAMA	Teacher answers questions, refines skits, practice and rehearse lines.	The students act out their plays. Parents are encouraged to attend.

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DAY 5

RELATED TO WAR - RELACIONADO A LA GUERRA

Actions-Acciones

to surround-rodear
to retreat-retirarse
to pierce-perforar
captured-capturado
to divide-dividir
to take command-mandar
battered-batir,batido
burried-enterrado
striking-pegando
to conceal-esconder
to rescue-rescatar
fleeing-huyendo
to warn-avisar
to die-morir
to seize-agarrar
to reward-recompensar
to set free-liberar
to march-marchar
to mourn-lamentar
to fire-disparar
to combat-combatir
to dart-echar
to thrust-empujar
to stab-apufialar
to defend-defender
pursuit-la cazar
to force-esforzar
wounded-herido
to scoure-buscar
to fight-luchar

Objects-Objetos

spears-lanzas
rifles-rifles
lance-lanza
cartriges-cartuchos
swords-espadas
guns-pistolas
firearms - armas
charger

Results-Los Resultados

hardships-dificultades
victory-victoria
masacre-matonza
dangers-peligros
privations-privar, despojar
suffering-sufrimiento
tragedy-tragedia
attacks-ataques
losses-las perdidas

Feelings-Sentimientos

panic-panico
sadness-la tristeza
desperate-desesperado
sorrow-pesar, dolor

People-La Gente

officers-oficiales
captain-capitan
enemies-enemigos
leader-lider
chief-el jefe
commander-comandante
victims-victimas
attacker-asaltador
rifleman-matador
volunteers-voluntarios
the wounded-los heridos
conquerors-conquistadores
prisoners-prisioneros
inmates-prisioneros
soldiers-soldados
fellows-hombres
servants-sirvientes
women-mujeres
deserter-desertor
captive-un cautivo

Kind

heroic-heroico
unidentified -
no identificado,
o sin identificacion
brave-valiente

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APP - ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY IN SPANISH
VOCABULARIO ADICIONAL

Vocabulario - San Pascual (Traduccion al espanol)

CLOTHING-LA ROPA

Kind-Clases
shoes-los zapatos
belts-los cinturones

ANIMALS-LOS ANIMALS

Kinds-Clases
horses-caballos
mules-mulas
wolves-lobos
sheep-ovejas
chickens-pollos
cattle-el ganado
buffalo-búfalo
coyote-coyote

Actions-Acciones
a stampede-una estampida
to graze-pastar, rozar

COMMUNICATION - LA COMUNICACION

Kinds-Tipos
messages- nensajes
letter-una carta
report-informe
memoirs-diario

Action-Acciones
to send-enviar, mandar
to transport-transportar

People-La Gente
messengers-mensajeros

LAND-LA TIERRA

Types-Tipos
valleys-los valles
hills-las colinas
ravine-precipicio
battlefield-batalla, campo de

Kind-Clases
muddy-lodoso
saturated-saturado

BODY - EL CUERPO

Parts-Partes
head-la cabeza
lungs-los pulmones
heart-el corazón
ribs-las costillas
neck-el cuello
face-la cara
limbs-brazos, piernas
lip-el labio
arm-el brazo
front tooth-el diente
eye-el ojo

FAMILY-LA FAMILIA

Members-Los Miembros
son-el hijo
brother-in-law - el cuñado
relatives-los parientes

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San Pascual Vocabulary

BUILDINGS-LOS EDIFICOS

Types-Los Tipos
hut-la choza
houses-las casas
fort-la fortaleza

Parts-Partes
Plank floors-pisos de madera
room-cuartos

Materials - Materiales
abode

PLACES-LOS LUGARES

Cities-Las Ciudades
towns-pueblos
cummunities-comunidades

DISTANCES-DISTANCIAS

Miles-millas
feet-pies
league-tres millas

NUMBERS-NUMEROS

forty-two - cuarenta y dos
fifteen-quince
a few-unos

TRAVEL-LA TRANSPORTACION

Actions-Acciones

to transport-transportar
to ride-pasear, montar

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BALLAD VOCABULARY

Memorial

sorrow
grief
remember
lay to rest
die
farewell
have left thee
joyful/joy

Participants

brave men
companions in arms
foe

Participants' actions

marched over the land
barely spied the land
suddenly died
to draw nigh
peaceful sleep

Setting

lone grave/graves
lone willow tree (see also voc - Day 3)
zephyrs
soft sigh

Battle equipment

lancers
chargers (see also voc - Day 5)

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PLATE III

a. SAN DIEGO MISSION

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Volume Three of a Series
on the Historic Birthplace of California

THE HISTORY OF SAN DIEGO

SILVER DONS

Written By:
RICHARD F. POURADE
EDITOR EMERITUS, THE SAN DIEGO UNION

Commissioned By
JAMES S. COPLEY
CHAIRMAN OF THE CORPORATION, THE COPLEY PRESS, INC.

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THE BLOODY LANCES

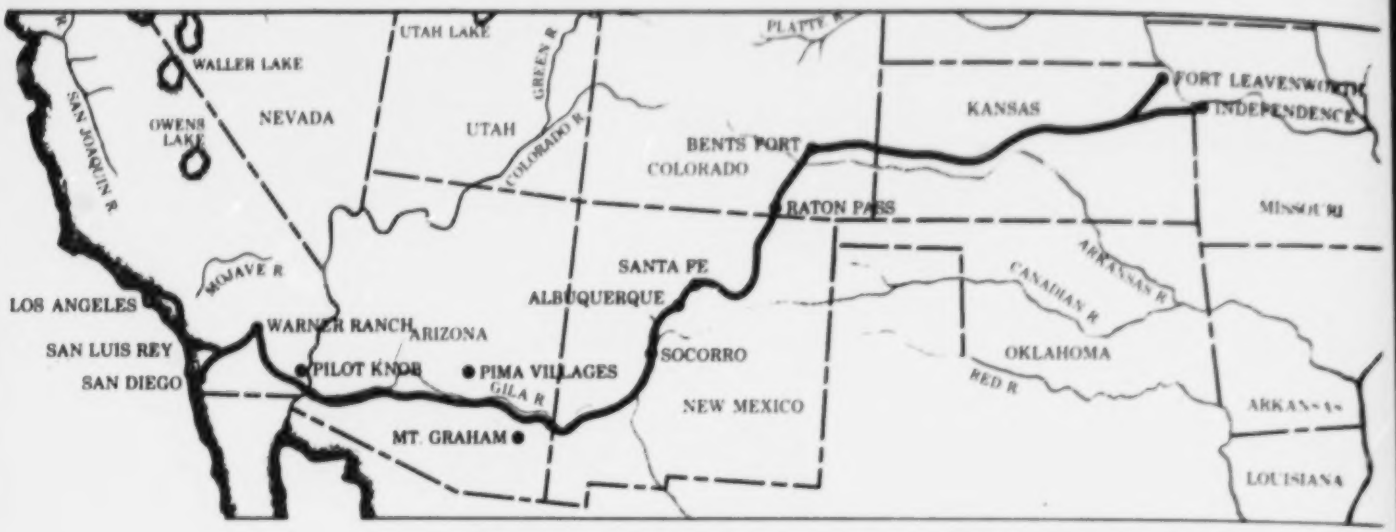
A cold December wind was whipping off the snow on the Cuyamaca Mountains when Gen. Kearny and his weary Army of the West arrived at Warner's Ranch, dragging their two mountain howitzers along the ground as they had done since leaving New Mexico.

It was while they were approaching the Colorado River that they learned that the situation in California had changed drastically since they had met Kit Carson and been assured by him that the *Californios* would never fight.

First they encountered a group of Mexicans with a large band of horses, which, it turned out, belonged in part to a band of Sonoran horse thieves and in part to couriers of Flores on the way to Sonora to plead for help in the war against the Americans. Next, they captured a Sonoran in whose saddle bags were found dispatches to Gen. Castro describing in detail all that had transpired in California since his flight.

Kearny and his men were not discouraged. The First Dragoons were one of the proudest units of the United States Army and veterans of the frontier, and Kearny himself was a respected and proven commander. They had originally set out for California to fight the enemy, and now, no matter their tired and tattered condition, they were anxious to get about it. They forded the Colorado River a mile and a half south of the Gila junction on November 25, where it was 1500 feet wide, camped, and the next morning, wrapping bundles of grass behind their saddles, and taking "the

THE AMERICANS SUFFERED HEAVY LOSSES in the Battle of San Pasqual. How the actions were fought is shown in Lt. Emory's sketch of the battlefield.



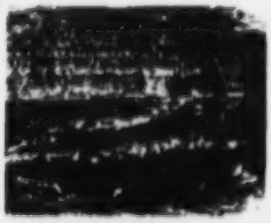
ONE OF THE WORLD'S LONGEST MILITARY MARCHES was that of the Army of the West which General Kearny led all the way to San Diego.

great highway between Sonora and California," rounded the base of the white drifting sand dunes just below eastern Imperial Valley, and began crossing the bed of a lost sea at places more than two hundred and fifty feet below sea level. It was the worst stretch of their march of 1600 miles.

The second camp was made at Alamo Mocho, twenty-four miles from the river, south and east of Mexicali, in Lower California, where they had to dig for water. The night was made horrible by the cries of hungry mules. The next day they headed for a salt lake thirty or forty miles away, despite the warnings of the captured Sonorans. The lake evidently was one of the salty flats which occasionally filled with flood water from the Colorado.

Emory wrote:

> The heavy sand had proved too much for many horses and some mules, and all the efforts of their drivers could bring them no farther than the middle of this dreary desert. About 8 o'clock, as we approached the lake, the stench of dead animals confirmed the reports of the Mexicans and put to flight all hopes of our being able to use the water.
>
> The basin of the lake, as well as I could judge at night, is about three-quarters of a mile long and half a mile wide. The water had receded to a pool, diminished to one half its size, and the approach to it was through a thick soapy quagmire. It was wholly unfit for man or brute, and we studiously kept the latter from it, thinking that the use of it would but aggravate their thirst.
>
> One or two of the men came in late, and, rushing to the lake, threw themselves down and took many swallows before discovering their mistake; but the effect was not injurious except that it increased their thirst.
>
> A few mezquite trees and a chenopodiaceous shrub bordered the lake, and on these our mules munched till they had sufficiently refreshed themselves,



Well in the Desert – Alamo Mocho

when the call to saddle was sounded, and we groped silently our way in the dark. The shortest animals now began to stagger, and when day dawned scarcely a man was seen mounted.

With the sun rose a heavy fog from the southwest, no doubt from the gulf, and sweeping towards us, enveloped us for two or three hours, wetting our blankets and giving relief to the animals. Before it had dispersed we came to a patch of sun-burned grass.

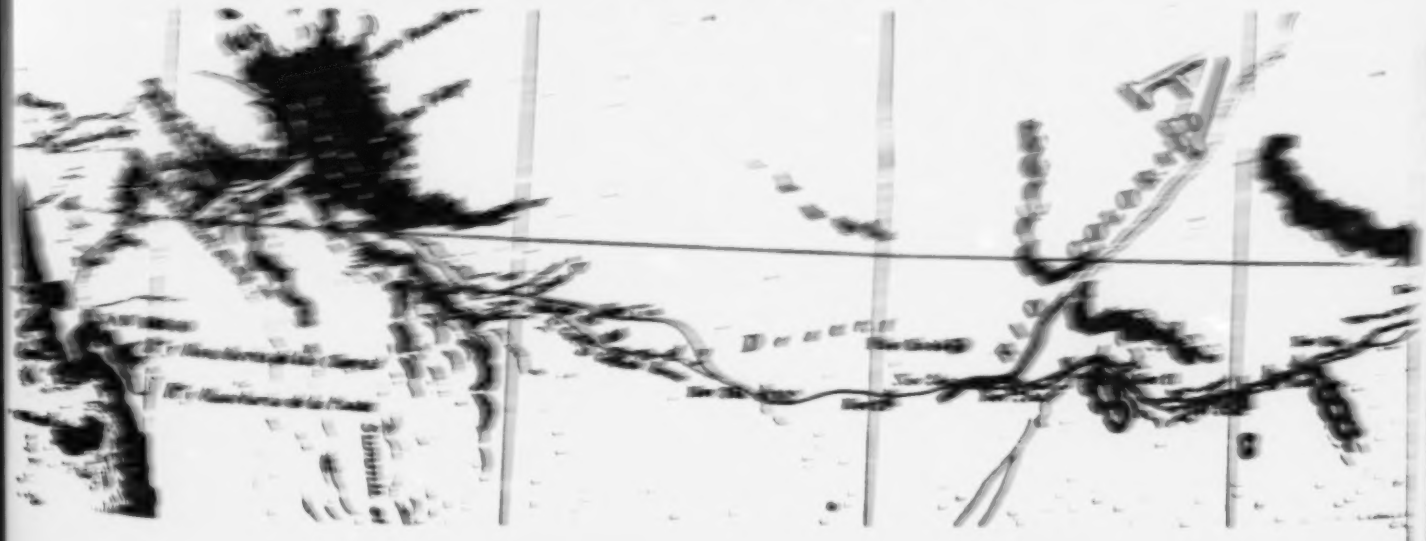
The weary column had swung north and crossed into what is now the United States, probably just west of Seely, and finally entered the wide gap that led to Carrizo Spring, the first step in a slowly rising climb through the mountains.

The short way to the port of San Diego lay directly over the mountain ridges, but they were impassable for military equipment and wagons. The route to Warner's led along a long way around through the Carrizo Corridor, which took them in a northwesterly direction up through dry canyons into a broad green pass that tilted up to Warner's. Here, several circuitous and difficult trails led to San Diego. From here also a trail led northerly through a series of rich, comparatively flat upland valleys to lush Temecula, from where the trail again branched, one southwest, back toward the San Luis Rey Mission and down to San Diego, and the other going north through open country to Los Angeles.

Emory continued:

When the fog had entirely dispersed we found ourselves entering a gap in the mountains, which had been before us for four days. The plain was crossed,

THE LONG, WEARY ROUTE of Gen. Kearny's Army to San Diego was sketched in detail by Lt. William Emory, of the U.S. Topographical Engineers. His descriptions formed the basis of San Diego's hope of being the terminus of the first transcontinental railroad. The dream faded and so did San Diego for many years.



but we had not yet found water. The first valley we reached was dry, and it was not till 12 o'clock, m., that we struck the Cariso (cane) creek, within half a mile of one of its sources, and although so close to the source, the sands had already absorbed much of its water, and left but little running. A mile or two below, the creek entirely disappears.

They had made fifty-four miles in two days.

Many animals were left on the road to die of thirst and hunger, in spite of the generous efforts of the men to bring them to the spring. More than one was brought up, by one man tugging at the halter and another pushing up the rear, by placing his shoulder against its buttocks. Our most serious loss, perhaps, was that of one or two fat mares and colts brought with us for food. A little before leaving camp, Major Swords found in a concealed place one of the poor colts quite slaughtered, and the choice bits cut from his shoulders and flanks, showing that by some means he had provided for others.

On November 20 they followed the dry sandy bed of Carrizo Creek, riding many miles through thickets.

The day was intensely hot, and the sand deep, the animals, inflated with water and rushes, gave way by the scores, and, although we advanced only sixteen miles, many did not arrive at camp until 10 o'clock at night. It was a feast day for the wolves (coyotes) which followed in packs close on our track, seizing our deserted brutes and making the air resound with their howls as they battled for the carcasses.

William H. Emory, as a brigadier general

They reached the "little pools" of Vallecito, where they refreshed themselves on water that was slightly salty, killed a horse for food, and rested for a day. Gen. Kearny conducted the last review of the Army of the West. Capt. Abraham Johnston, who had not long to live, wrote in his notes that "Our men were inspected today. Poor fellows! They are well nigh naked – some of them barefoot – a sorry looking set. A Dandy would think that; in those swarthy sun-burnt faces, a lover of his country will see no signs of quailing. They will be ready for their hour when it comes."

There were no complaints from such men as Capts. B. D. Moore and Johnston, Lts. Thomas Hammond and Davidson, all of the First Dragoons; or from Lts. Emory and W. H. Warner, of the Topographical Engineers, or Maj. Thomas Swords, of the Quartermaster Corps, and Dr. John S. Griffin, an assistant army surgeon. The desert and the enemy held no fear, either, for Antoine Robidoux, the trapper and guide, and four other Mountain Men.

For the next two days they trudged through dry Mason and Earthquake Valleys, always over rising land, and drew up into San Felipe Pass, between snow covered mountains. The winter had brought unusually heavy snows, and far to the north, in the Sierra Nevada, the Donner party of immigrants, who had left Independence, Missouri, without knowledge of the start of war, were trapped by blizzards. Thirty-four out of seventy-nine died.

Many of the survivors fell to eating the dead. On the night of December 5, Kearny and his force arrived at Warner's Ranch. At that time Warner lived in a house, which may have been begun by Silvestre de la Portilla or José Antonio Pico, whom they had claimed the valley, and it stood a short distance from the hot sulphur springs.

Emory wrote:

Our camp was pitched on the road to the Pueblo, making a little west of west. To the south down the valley of the Agua Caliente [or Hot water] to San Diego, about 12 miles. Warner's handsome American looking house, of adobe, whitewashed, is situated on

Warner grew his crops in the vicinity of his home and grazed his cattle down the valley along the upper stream of the San Luis Rey River, on lands now partly covered by Lake Henshaw.

Warner was not there. He was in custody at San Diego, and Bill Marshall, the deserter from a whaling ship, was in charge and provided the Army with the first fresh meat and vegetables they had had in many weeks. The Englishman Stokes was summoned from Santa Ysabel, and though he proclaimed himself a neutral in the war, agreed to take a message to Stockton asking that reinforcements be sent to meet Kearny somewhere along the road to San Diego.

Leather Shield

Sixty miles away and near the coast, Andrés Pico led his seventy to seventy-five men out of Soledad Valley on the road to San Pasqual. They wore the traditional rich and ornamented costumes of the Dons, with leathern cuirasses to protect their bodies, and a *serape* over one shoulder, and a few perhaps carried the old leather shields with their Castilian heraldry. Gay pennants fluttered from medieval lances. The sight always had awed the Indians, and a little native girl, Felicita, who witnessed the Battle of San Pasqual, related years later to Elizabeth J. Roberts how they feared the *Californios*:

When I was a child I lived here at San Pasqual. Our village was by the Laguna and the river. There were days when the Mexican soldiers rode through San Pasqual on their beautiful horses. They came from the Presidio at San Diego and carried swords and lances. At night if there were soldiers then ran to hide in the brush and rocks of the hills, for these men counted our lives of little worth, and we feared them.

In a clear and cold moonlit night Gillespie and his Volunteers pushed their horses and mules over the rolling mesa between Mission and El Cajon Valleys. He, as Kit Carson, had little respect for the *Californios* as fighters, and had informed the Secretary of the Navy that they had a "holy horror of the American rifle" and "will never expose themselves to make an attack."

Much of what is known about the events of those days is found in his official report to Commodore Stockton.

[illegible] arrived at the Rancho in the Cajon Valley, [illegible] await daylight, to commence the ascent of the [illegible] and of difficult passage for a Field piece. Al[illegible] that the enemy were in considerable numbers [illegible] of them, and at 9 o'clock on the 4th, com[illegible] For the first three leagues, our road passed [illegible] with wild oats, here and there interspersed [illegible] size and age; it then crossed a ridge of high [illegible] with rocks and stones, a species of white gran[illegible] the east side of the mountain, and entered [illegible] Maria.

[illegible] at the ranch home of Stokes situated [illegible] y.

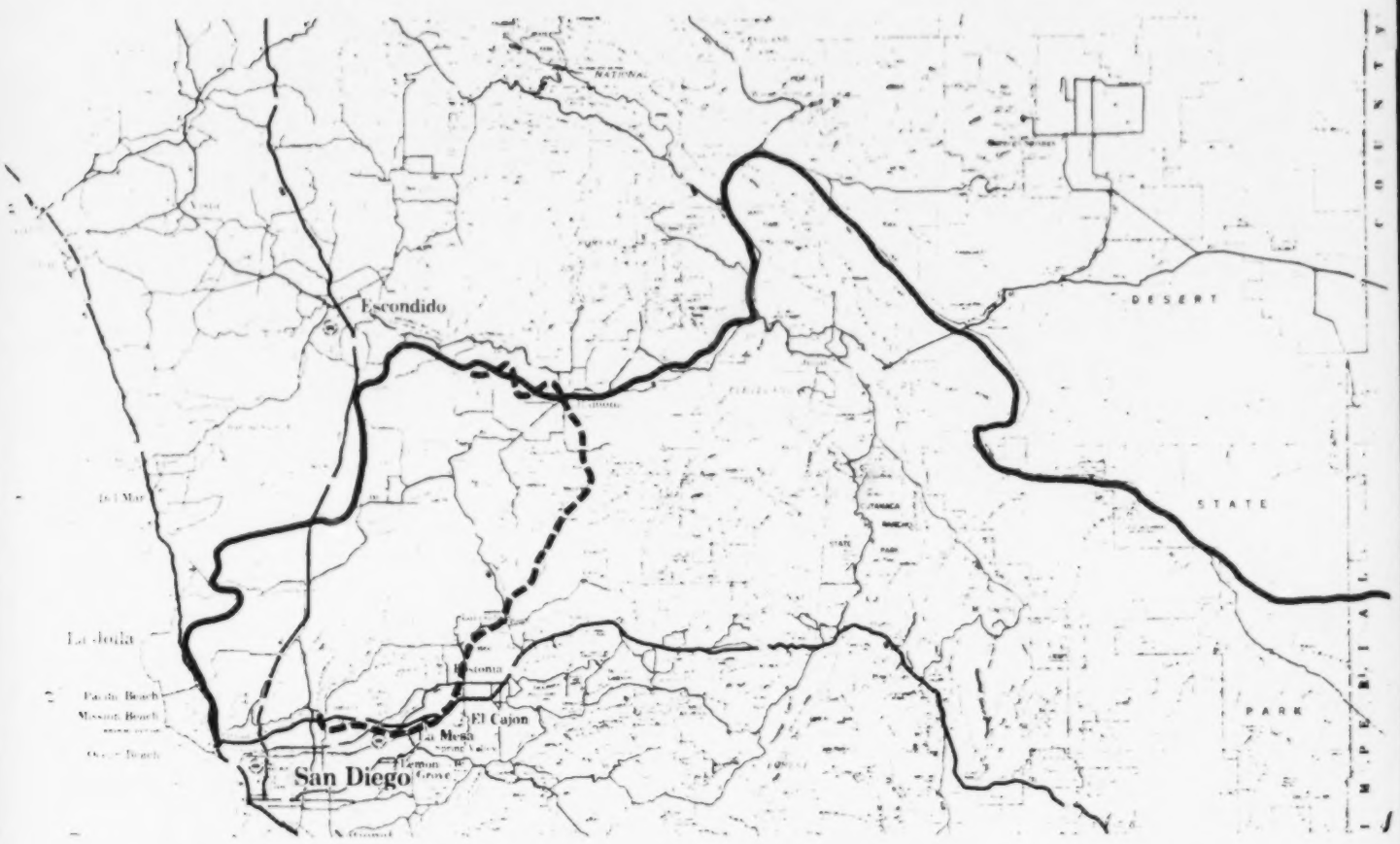
[illegible] December 4, in a heavy rain, camping [illegible] the site of the abandoned *asistencia* [illegible] of the ranch home of Stokes' father[illegible]. The Indians from neighboring tribes [illegible] to aid the Americans. He told them [illegible] main neutral. The march was resumed [illegible] majordomo of the ranch, a "Sailor [illegible] service as a guide. "Sailor Bill" was [illegible] English sea captain who had been em[illegible] 41 and later became an Indian agent [illegible] Valley. In the cold of the San Diego [illegible] ferred his liquor to a long march.

[illegible] Gillespie left Santa Maria Valley, headed [illegible] ins:

[illegible] the night, and as we began the ascent of the [illegible] Isabel, it poured in torrents, effectually [illegible] half the distance between Sta. Isabel and Sta. [illegible] at one o'clock, one of the advance returned, [illegible] met with Gen'l Kearny's advance, & had pro[illegible] each. Our Flag was immediately given to the [illegible] time upon those distant mountains; cheering [illegible] sight of the "Stars and Stripes," where they

[illegible] received with great kindness by himself and [illegible] you had ordered; giving him all the informa[illegible] the state and condition of the Country, and [illegible] insurgents under Andrés Pico, was reported [illegible] advised him "to beat up their camp," should [illegible] ion was received with great pleasure by all [illegible] of 1st Dragoons, who was extremely desirous [illegible] ible.

[illegible] horses, Kearny's men moved down [illegible] camped in a grassy, oak-covered val-



THE ROUTE TAKEN BY GEN. KEARNY through San Diego County is shown by the solid line. Dotted line indicates the route of Capt. Gillespie, whose Volunteers joined with Kearny's men and took part in the Battle of San Pasqual.

ley, presumably at the head of Clevenger Canyon, through which now descends the highway into San Pasqual Valley. Gillespie found them there at night:

> . . .many of the soldiers were lying upon the wet ground, notwithstanding the heavy rain, almost exhausted by their long and arduous march; indeed, the whole force, save the officers, presented an appearance of weariness and fatigue, rarely, if ever, met with upon any other service. The men were without any exception sadly in want of clothing; that which they wore was ragged and torn; they were almost without shoes; and although we were constantly accustomed to much privation and suffering, my men considered their own condition, superior to that of these way-worn soldiers, whose strength and spirit seemed to be entirely gone.

Far below them, in San Pasqual Valley, Pico's men slept around camp fires at the squalid Indian village, located along the edge of the hills on the north, convinced that a report of American forces being in the vicinity was false, and that Gillespie had gone out to

capture horses and cattle and would drive them back along the San Pasqual road to San Diego, where they could be intercepted and the enemy engaged. Not all of the *Californios* with Pico have been identified, though it is known that they included Leonard Cota and Tomás Sánchez, as officers, and Ramón Carrillo, Leandro and Ramón Osuna, and José Antonio Serrano.

There were two routes from Santa Maria to San Diego. One led over the lower mountains to Lakeside and Santa Monica, or El Cajon Valley, and then down through Mission Valley, the route over which Gillespie had come. The other led a half dozen miles across rolling hills to the edge of San Pasqual Valley, down the valley to the present area of Lake Hodges, then south across San Bernardo Rancho to Los Peñasquitos Creek, west into Soledad Valley, and then up over Miramar Mesa back of Torrey Pines and down Rose Canyon to the pueblo. Although both routes had been in use for some time, the San Pasqual route was preferred to the Lakeside route because it was less rocky. Both routes had difficult climbs, the San Pasqual route at San Pasqual hill and the Lakeside route in the last mile before reaching the Ramona Valley. Gillespie reported the hill covered with rocks. Rocks were hard on horses' feet and broke the wheels of wagons.

On this cold, wet night, one route was open, the other blocked by an enemy force. Kearny sent a small detachment under Lt. Thomas C. Hammond and a native scout, Rafael Machado, attached to Gillespie's command, to reconnoiter Pico's camp and determine the number and disposition of his men. The bark of a dog alerted a guard and his shots aroused the sleeping camp. Hammond and his men, swords clanking in the still night, galloped back up the hill. The element of surprise now was gone, but Kearny was determined to move out and engage the enemy and "beat up his camp" as Stockton had suggested. The order to mount was given at 2 o'clock in the morning. His Dragoons went to the head of the column, and Gillespie's Volunteers, to their disgust, were ordered to the rear, to help guard the baggage. Gillespie tells the story of what followed:

> The weather had cleared, the moon shone as bright as day almost, but the wind coming from the snow covered mountains, made it so cold, we could scarcely hold our bridle reins.
>
> Our road lay over a mountain which divides the valley of San Pascual from that of Santa Maria, and is about six miles in length. The ascent is quite regular, the road smooth, and has been used by the native Californians for carts. As day dawned, we arrived at the top of the hill, which immediately overlooks the Valley of San Pascual; a halt was ordered and preparations made to engage the Enemy. General Kearny addressed the Dragoons and Riflemen, telling them to "be steady and obey implicitly the orders of their officers; that their Country

JEEP TRAIL now follows in part old carreta road from Ramona to San Pasqual over which Gen. Kearny's Army descended to face Californians' lances.

expected them to do their duty; and that one thrust of the sabre point, was far more effective than any number of cuts."

The General told me, that Capt. Moore would direct the charge, and had orders to surround the Indian Village; in the performance of which duty, he wished me to cooperate all in my power; to follow Capt. Moore, and if possible capture every man; to shoot any who might resist or attempt to escape, but make exertions to capture man and horse. Lieutenant Davidson, 1st Dragoons, in command of the Howitzers, was ordered to follow in the rear of my command. Major Swords with his command had not yet come up. The order to march is given. We proceeded down the mountain. The clang of the heavy Dragoon sabres, echoing amongst the hills upon this cold frosty morning, and reverberating from the mountain top back upon the Valley seemed like so many alarm bells to give notice of our approach. The grey light of morn appeared as we approached the valley. We were marching by twos; and as the advance, commanded by Capt. Johnston had reached the plain, the General gave the order to "Trot," which Capt. Johnston misunderstood for "charge," a shout, and off dashed the Dragoons at the charge, as fast as their tired, worn out mules and horses could

Next Page. THE LANCES OF THE CALIFORNIA HORSEMEN took a terrible toll of Gen. Kearny's Army of the West, as shown in painting by Walter Francis.

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be urged; whilst my command was still upon the hill side, and more than a half mile from the Indian village; the boundaries of which, were clearly shown by the fire that was opened upon the advance, by the Enemy posted in a gulley at the side fronting our approach.

The charge led down a long hog-back ridge that slopes into the valley to a point about two miles west of the bridge across the Santa Ysabel Creek which becomes the San Dieguito River a few miles further west.

In the valley the alarmed *Californios* had rounded up their horses, and in a disorganized state awaited what might come. Felicita, the little Indian girl, saw the start of the action:

. . .we heard the sounds of voices shouting on the mountain side toward Santa Maria; we ran out of our huts to find the cause. The clouds hung so low that at first we could see nothing for the mist, but soon there came the figure of men, like shadows, riding down the mountain. As they drew nearer we saw that they too were soldiers, wearing coats of blue.

The Mexican soldiers were sitting on their horses, holding their long lances in their hands; they now rode swiftly to meet the soldiers in blue, and soon there came the sounds of battle. But the Indians, in great fear, fled again to the mountains. When we had climbed high above the valley, we hid behind the brush and weeds. Then we looked down and watched. One of our men who had lived at the mission, told us that these strange soldiers from the hills were Americans and that they were fighting to take the land away from the Mexicans. The Mexicans had not been good to the Indians, so we were not sorry to see the new soldiers come against them.

Kit Carson

The first man to fall was Capt. Johnston who had led the charge down the hill. A bullet from the gun of Leandro Osuna struck him in the forehead and he fell dead from his horse. The Americans driving down the hill virtually moved over their dead and wounded and slammed into the lances and bullets of the Californians. Kit Carson's horse, plunging down the hillside, stumbled and threw Carson to the ground, breaking his rifle. Though Kearny realized a mistake in command had been made, he knew it was too late to change it, and he followed his men into the swirling battle in the half-light of the morning. After a brief but bloody encounter the Californians suddenly turned and retreated across the valley and reorganized behind the little hill on which the San Pasqual Battle Monument now stands.

Capt. Moore, believing the enemy to be in retreat, ordered a second charge. As the Americans followed in a long disorganized line, the *Californios* swept out from their hiding place. The American Dragoons were cut to pieces. Alone in front, Moore ran up against Andrés Pico, fired one pistol shot and then slashed out at him with a sabre. Leandro Osuna and Dionisio Alipás closed in on Moore and pierced him with their lances. He fell from his horse and was finished off with a pistol shot by Tomás Sánchez.

Lt. Hammond, following close upon Moore, went down with lance thrusts between his ribs. The rifles of the Americans failed to fire because of wet cartridges. Some of the Dragoons were lassoed and hauled from their mules and horses, to be stabbed to death. Their tired mounts could not cope with the fresh and spirited California horses.

Gillespie tells the story:

After a pursuit of over a mile and a half, the Dragoons came upon the Enemy in the open plain, where they made a stand, evidently having observed the scattered position of our force. As we came up, I saw a party of some twenty-five or thirty Dragoons, slowly turning before a superior force of the Enemy. Sword in hand I dashed forward to them crying, "Rally men, for God's sake rally, show a front, don't turn your backs, face them, face them, follow me," but to no effect; their brave leader had fallen, pierced by many lances; their travel worn horses being incapable of any more exertion, themselves chilled by the cold, their limbs stiffened by their clothing, soaked by the rain of the night previous; and being almost surrounded, they were completely panic stricken; the best men of this command, having already fallen in unequal combat. Instead of the Dragoons heeding my efforts to rally them, they passed my left, when I fell in upon the center of the Enemy, and was immediately surrounded and saluted with the cry of recognition, "*Ya, es Gillespie, adentro hombres, adentro.*" "There is Gillespie, at him men, at him!"

Gillespie was recognized as the American commander who had made life so unpleasant at Los Angeles for the pleasure-loving *Californios.*

Four lances were darted at me instantly, which being parried, the fifth and sixth quickly followed, accompanied by the discharge of an *Escopeta*, almost into my face. At this moment I noticed a lance "in rest" coming from the front and when leaning over the neck of my horse, parrying the charge, I was struck on the back of the neck by another lance, at the collar of my coat, with such force, as to be thrown clear from my saddle to the ground, with my sabre under me. As I attempted to rise I received a thrust from a lance behind me, striking above the heart, making a severe gash open to the lungs. I turned my face in the direction of my assailant, when, one of the Enemy riding at full speed, charged upon me, dashed his lance at my face, struck and cutting my upper lip, broke a front tooth, and threw me upon my back, as his horse jumped over me.

In the panic of those few minutes, Kearny, fighting alone, as were most of his men, was lanced three times, in an arm and in the buttocks, and was saved from certain death by Emory who drove off another attacker. One of the two howitzers was lassoed and hauled away. The Sutter gun and the other howitzer were brought into play and Gillespie managed to fire one himself by using his cigar lighter, before he collapsed on the field. The American retreat was halted, and the *Californios* temporarily scattered.

As day dawned, the smoke cleared away, and Emory wrote:

. . .we commenced collecting our dead and wounded. We found eighteen of our officers and men were killed on the field, and thirteen wounded. Amongst the

killed were Captains Moore and Johnston, and Lt. Hammond of the 1st Dragoons. The general, Capt. Gillespie, Capt. Gibson, Lt. Warner, and Mr. Robideaux badly wounded.

The Indian village was scoured for the dead and wounded:

The first object which met my eye was the manly figure of Capt. Johnston. He was perfectly lifeless, a ball having passed directly through the centre of his head.

The work of plundering the dead had already commenced; his watch was gone, nothing being left of it but a fragment of the gold chain by which it was suspended from his neck. . . Captain Johnston and one dragoon were the only persons either killed or wounded on our side in the fight by firearms.

Gillespie reported that of the total American force of 153 men, not more than 45 had borne the brunt of the fight. Only one Californian, Francisco Lara, had been killed, though twelve had been wounded, one of whom later died. One was captured by Philip Crosthwaite, a volunteer who came with Gillespie's force. He was Pablo Vejar.

The Americans moved over to the north side of the valley, up on a long hill, and in the notes of Stanley, the artist-draftsman with the Kearny force, we find:

At first General Kearny thought to move on the same day. The dead were lashed on mules, and remained two hours or more in that posture. It was a sad and melancholy picture. We soon found, however, that our wounded were unable to travel. The mules were released of their packs, and the men engaged in fortifying the place for the night. During the day the enemy were in sight curveting their horses, keeping our camp in constant excitement. Three of Captain Gillespie's volunteers started with dispatches to Commodore Stockton. The dead were buried at night and ambulances made for the wounded. . . .

Late that night, the dead were buried in a single grave.

Emory wrote:

When night closed in, the bodies of the dead were buried under a willow to the east of our camp, with no other accompaniment than the howling of the myriads of wolves attracted by the smell. Thus were put to rest together, and forever, a band of brave and heroic men. The long march of 2,000 miles had brought our little command, both officers and men, to know each other well. Community of hardships, dangers, and privations, had produced relations of mutual regard which caused their loss to sink deeply in our memories.

Kit Carson escaped the lances, and years later, when his exploits were ridiculed in a cynical age, Lt. Beale came to his defense and wrote that "I remember when we lay side by side on the bloody battlefield all night, when you mourned like a woman, and would not be comforted, not for those who had fallen but for the sad hearts of women at home when the sad tale would be told."

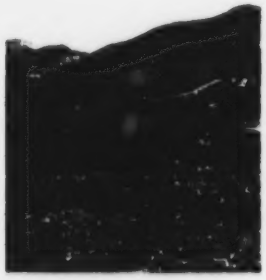
The "wolves" to which Emory referred so many times were coyotes. With Kearny in great suffering, Capt. H. S. Turner, his

aide-de-camp, took command and sent three couriers from the Volunteers to Commodore Stockton at San Diego, informing him of what had happened and asking assistance. Two of those sent were Alexis Godey and Thomas Burgess. The third probably was an Indian. Duvall in the log of the *Cyane* mentions that the Indian who had gone out and brought back the sheep for the besieged Americans at San Diego also was the one who later carried a message to Kearny, was captured by the Mexicans and badly treated.

The first inkling of the tragedy, however, was taken to San Diego by Capt. Stokes, who had heard reports while enroute back to his ranch. But he was vague as to details, and no alarm was sounded.

Stretchers, or ambulances, to carry the wounded were made of willow and buffalo robes, in frontier fashion, with one end suspended from a mule and the other dragging on the ground. In the morning the march toward San Diego was resumed, with Kearny back in the saddle and in command, the column passing along a route taking them over the hills on the north side of the valley. It was a painful day for the wounded. That mid-afternoon, after a trek of about five miles, they turned back toward the valley and reached Rancho San Bernardo and the ranch home of Edward Snook. It was deserted except for a few Indians. The site is just east of Highway 395 at the north end of the Lake Hodges crossing. Here they killed chickens to feed the wounded and rounded up some cattle.

After a short rest they moved into the valley. The enemy reappeared from a ravine, attempted an encirclement, which failed, and thirty or forty of them then took positions on a small hill commanding the road. Emory and six or eight men were sent to dislodge them, which they did, amid considerable gunfire. But the Army of the West could go no further. The cattle had been stampeded, and the wounded were in dire need of rest and treatment, and unless help arrived, they surely would all be lost.



Mule Hill, where Army of West made last stand

They dragged themselves up on the rocky hill, which can be seen from Highway 395, and barricaded themselves behind battlements erected with rocks. They bored holes in the river bed for water and killed the fattest of the mules for food. This rocky point now is known as "Mule Hill." The following morning a messenger with a flag of truce appeared and disclosed that Andrés Pico had captured four Americans and wished to exchange them for a like number of Californians. The three couriers to Stockton had gotten through but had been captured on attempting to return. As the Americans held but one captive, only Burgess was able to rejoin the Volunteers on Mule Hill. Pico also passed along some

goods for Gillespie which had been sent out from San Diego with the couriers.

The message asking for help had been oddly matter-of-fact, lacking a sense of urgency, and while Stockton later said he had begun immediate preparations to send assistance, all available horses had been taken by Gillespie and some delay was necessary. On their way back to San Pasqual Valley, and just before their capture, Godey and Burgess committed the contents of the message to memory and cached the paper in an oak tree. It was found years later by one of Juan Bandini's *vaqueros*, and what is believed to be a copy is in the Huntington Library. It reads:

Rocks formed defensive barricade on Mule Hill

Sir: Your letter by Lt. Godoy communicating to me the sad Intelligence of the fight which took place yesterday at early dawn, reached me last night, and I would have instantly sent a detachment to aid you but unfortunately every horse that could travel had been sent with the riflemen, and left us without any means to transport our Artillery. We have not an Animal in the Garrison that can go two leagues, besides we have no conveyances or means of any kind to transport the wounded. Under these circumstances and especially because Mr. Godoy says you have effective force enough to defend yourselves in camp or to march to San Diego, I have thought it most wise to postpone the march of my men till I can hear from you again as they will only consume provisions without being of any use. Mr. Godoy returns to you Immediately with this. Faithfully, Your obt St. R. F. Stockton. To H. S. Turner, Captain U.S.A., Cmdg at Camp Near San Pasqual.

With the situation on Mule Hill now desperate, it was decided to send another plea for help. Kit Carson, Lt. Beale and an Indian volunteered to try and get through the enemy lines to San Diego, twenty-nine miles distant. An Indian had accompanied Beale from San Diego as a servant, and Frémont in his memoirs identifies him as the one who went with Carson and Beale.

Lt. Edward F. Beale

Under cover of night they slipped out through the enemy lines. Carson's own story follows:

As soon as dark we started on our mission. In crawling over the rocks and brush our shoes making noise, we took them off; fastened them under our belts. We had to crawl about two miles. We could see three rows of sentinels, all ahorseback, we would often have to pass within 20 yards of one. We got through, but had the misfortune to have lost our shoes, had to travel over a country covered with prickly pear and rocks, barefoot.

During the day they remained in hiding in a gorge, perhaps Peñasquitos Gorge, and at night, when within twelve miles of San Diego, separated, to multiply the chances of getting in. The customary evening ball was under way at the Bandini house, and the band of the *USS Congress* was playing in the Plaza when the Indian servant reached Old Town with the sad news of Kearny's perilous situation. Carson arrived soon after. Beale came in later, in such a condition he had to be carried before Stockton.

On Mule Hill, meanwhile, Sgt. John Cox died of his wounds and was buried on the hill and his grave covered with heavy rocks. The enemy attempted to drive a herd of wild horses through the camp and cause a stampede. The herd was turned aside but several were killed to provide a happy change of diet. The baggage was ordered destroyed to keep it from falling into the hands of the enemy. At the end of three days on the hill, Dr. Griffin thought the wounded had progressed enough where all but two could ride, and the order was given to resume the march the next morning. They were certain that Beale and Carson had not gotten through. During the night a guard heard voices – English voices.

Emory wrote:

> It was a detachment of 100 tars and 80 marines under Lt. Gray, sent to meet us by Commodore Stockton, from whom we learned that Lt. Beale, Carson and the Indian had arrived safely at San Diego. The detachment left San Diego on the night of the 9th, cached themselves during the day of the 10th, and joined us on the night of that day. These gallant fellows busied themselves till day, distributing their provisions and clothes to our naked and hungry people.

In two days, on Dec. 12, the battered Army accompanied by Lt. Andrew F. V. Gray of the *USS Congress* and 180 men arrived at San Diego, and Emory wrote:

> At this place we were in view of the fort overlooking the town of San Diego and the barren waste which surrounds it . . . the town consists of a few adobe houses, two or three of which only have plank floors . . . the rain fell in torrents as we entered the town, and it was my singular fate here, as in Santa Fe, to be quartered in the calaboose, a miserable hut, of one room, some 40x30 feet square. A huge old gun was mounted in this hovel, looking through an embrasure to the westward . . . we preferred the open air and the muddy plaza, saturated with all sorts of filth, to this wretched hole. . . .

The "calaboose" probably was the town hall in the Plaza. A different view of their arrival at San Diego was given by Dr. Griffin:

> We all arose freshened with the idea of reaching St. Diego today, and thus finishing this long weary march. We left and marched into St. Diego around 4 p.m., where we received the warmest welcome and kindest attention from our naval friends. I found everything so far as it was in the power of the surgeon's post prepared for my wounded men, and every attention that a warm and generous heart extended to the poor fellows. The *Congress* and *Portsmouth* were laying at anchor in the bay and the town of St. Diego garrisoned by the crew and marines from these two ships.

To Gen. Kearny, San Pasqual had been a victory. The enemy had fled and the battlefield had been cleared. Two more Dragoons died in San Diego making twenty-one in all. One Volunteer also was listed as having been killed. As for the *Californios*, they divided into small bands and faded into the hills, a few of them giving up the fight and entering San Diego under flags of truce. Felipa Osuna Marrón tells how her husband became so embittered

with his own people that he asked to be allowed to return to San Diego from his ranch at Agua Hedionda. With Felipa and her husband, under the protection of a white flag, came a number of men who had participated in the Battle of San Pasqual. One of them was her brother, Leandro Osuna, who had killed Capt. Johnston, and another was Jesús Machado. She said the flag of her brother's lance was stained with blood and at first the Americans seemed hostile, but nothing happened.

But, as Dr. Griffin wrote. The "enemy have the country and we have no communication with our friends in the north. The Sonorians are running off all the cattle and horses, and the fact is the country will have nothing in it after the war is over."

There was a sad aftermath to the tragedy of San Pasqual that left a legacy of sorrow in a little divided community. Hayes wrote:

> Some families of San Diego yet mourn for the relatives who were killed by the San Luis Rey Indians in 1846. The day is remembered only as between *dia de la Virgen* (December 8th) and that of *Guadalupe* (December 12th). It was immediately after the Battle of San Pasqual . . . it is unknown and inexplicable what may have led the Indians to strike this terrible blow at persons living amongst them, on terms of greatest confidence.

Men who had wet their lances with the blood of American soldiers themselves were slaughtered and certainly in a moment of savage retribution by Indians whose lands they had taken.

Fleeing from the field of battle, with the appearance of Lt. Gray's rescue expedition, a number of the *Californios* went to Pauma Valley, in the shadow of Palomar Mountains about forty-two miles northeast of San Diego, on the upper San Luis Rey River, four miles west of the Pala Mission and about fifteen miles southwest of Warner's. This was the ranch of José Antonio Serrano, though a number of other *Californios*, including Juan María Osuna, José Aguilar and Bonifacio López, had sent cattle there for grazing to keep them from falling into the hands of Americans.

A report reaching San Diego a few days later that Indians had killed eleven Mexicans was discounted, and Dr. Griffin in his diary noted that "the best versed in California affairs believe these men were killed in the action of the 6th, and that the Mexicans complained of the red skins to conceal their own loss."

Little by little the details began to come out. A small tribe of Luiseño Indians lived in the valley, with Manuelito Cota as their chief. Serrano, who understood a little of their language, overheard two women discussing an attack, and while he warned his companions who were resting at the ranch, he evidently didn't take it too seriously, and left that day with his son, Jesús, and his brother-in-law, José Aguilar, to join his family at Pala.

Eleven men were left at the ranch. Hayes wrote:

> The well-known General Manuelito Cota, was supposed to have been at the head of this sudden movement of his people. The inmates of the ranch house were asleep, when he knocked at the door. Recognizing his voice, José María Alvarado opened the door, against every remonstrations of the rest. The Indians rushed in, seized their victims, took them . . . to Potrero and Agua Caliente, and put them to death in the most cruel manner. It is to be hoped the imagination of surviving kinsmen has exaggerated the terrors of this scene as it still is related by them.

The captured men were first put on exhibition at Agua Caliente, for the benefit of the Cupeños of Warner's, the Cahuillas of the eastern mountain and desert areas, and the Luiseños of the San Luis Rey Mission lands. Manuelito, in a change of heart, wanted to set the captives free. His companion, Pablo Apis, was against it. Here the story becomes more murky, obscured by legend and old hates. Counsel was sought from two persons, an American, Bill Marshall, the seafaring deserter of Warner's, and a Mexican renegade named Yguera who had married a Cupeño woman. It was Marshall who is believed to have influenced the Luiseños to kill their captives, by arguing that the American conquerors would be greatly pleased.

The disbelief that had failed to alarm Serrano and Aguilar turned to fear when they returned to Pauma and learned what had transpired. They picked up the trail and followed it to Agua Caliente, from where they sent an appeal for help to Bill Williams, at Santa Ysabel, and the chief of the Santa Ysabel Indians, Ignacio. Williams first sent an Indian with an offer to ransom the prisoners with cattle but, that failing, went himself and saw them lying bound around a fire. He was warned to be off, or he, too, might die.

There are two versions of the manner of their deaths. One is that they were forced to stand and then were shot full of arrows. The other is that they were lanced to death with spears heated in the fire. The story is told that young Santiago Alipás, only thirteen years old, alone remained calm in the face of death, and was rewarded with execution by gunfire. The bodies were piled in a heap and the Indians danced around them all night. The bodies, except those of Santiago Osuna, youngest son of Juan María Osuna, and Alvarado, were secretly buried. The persistence of legend is that the bodies of Osuna and Alvarado were turned over to an old Indian woman, who had been a servant for their families, and she buried them separately, and then walked to San Diego with the sad news.

The others who died were Manuel Serrano, brother of José Antonio; Ramón Aguilar, José López, his son-in-law, Francisco

Basualdo, two men from Los Angeles named Dominguez and Estacio Ruiz, Juan de la Cruz of Lower California, and an unidentified man from New Mexico.

There were attempts to link Kearny with the massacre, in regard to advice he had given to representatives of the Indians at Santa Ysabel, when they expressed a willingness to aid the American cause. He told them to remain neutral, though Manuelito insisted years later that Kearny also said they had a right to defend themselves from any acts on the part of the Mexicans. Marshall's part in the affair emerged only slowly, and his punishment was yet a few years away.

THOSE ACCURSED HOWITZERS!

by

WILLIAM L. PERKINS

There is little doubt that the wheel is responsible for many of the marvels of today. Yet there have been times when it might have been better if this contrivance had not existed. The Americans who fought in the Battle of San Pasqual had good reason to reflect about this premise.

In the history of war, many disasters have been the result of some, perhaps minor, factor of error. But it took a pair of mountain howitzers literally dragged across the deserts of the Southwest to wreck the plans of the Army sent to California in 1846.

When the Mexican War broke out, the United States had military units in California and in Texas. Between these two points lay nearly 1500 miles of virtually uninhabited country. The only settlement of any size in this wilderness was the Mexican stronghold of Santa Fé, the gateway of the southern route to California. This war, which cost the United States some 13,000 casualties, was violently felt in Southern California.

Previous works on the San Pasqual affair have been, for the most part, studies of the battle. Scant attention has been paid to the eventful days leading up to the conflict, and yet, it was in these pre-battle days that the tragedy began. A close look at the troubles encountered by the Army on its march to California makes the wheel suspect as the true villain of San Pasqual!

To overcome the Mexicans at Santa Fé, to aid in the conquest of California, and to secure the lands that lay in between were the objectives of the force called the Army of the West. Commanded by Stephen Watts Kearny, then a Colonel, the force was organized at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in the summer of 1846. Nearly 1,000 men left Kansas in August, on what would become a most troublesplagued march.

Mr. Perkins, a native Californian, has lived in San Diego since 1910. He has held a lifelong interest and study of the southwards of geology, paleontology and archaeology to historical studies related to San Diego County. This article marks his first appearance in the Quarterly as a contributor.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

As history has documented, the conquest of Santa Fé was more of a celebration than a fight. The city, with its officials in a state of confusion, and its military in flight, literally hung out the bunting for the soldados Americanos. The troopers stayed at Santa Fé nearly a month, setting up a government and resupplying for the overland journey to the Pacific. At Santa Fé, Kearny was advanced to the rank of General.

Two men with the Army kept excellent chronicles of the journey: Lieutenant William H. Emory, a topographical engineer; and Doctor John S. Griffin, an Army surgeon. This article finds its basis upon the writings of these men.

On September 25, the Army left Santa Fé, heading southwest for the Valley of the Rio Grande. Here, the first ingredients of the stew-pot which boiled over at San Pasqual were mixed. The general, faced with the task of moving his forces across the wild and desolate area, overloaded his wagons with supplies of survival and warfare. This was his first error in judgment, for it was with great difficulty that the wagons passed over this section of the route.

The Chihuahua Trail over which the men traveled was ancient and well-used. This route which linked Santa Fé with El Paso and Chihuahua City had seen much traffic in legal as well as contraband trade. Kearny anticipated little trouble but quickly found it when he realized he had been sold a poor stock of mules at Santa Fé.

On September 30, the doctor reported that "All the men were mounted upon mules." How could this have been? It has been suggested that the citizens of Santa Fé convinced Kearny that horses could not make it across the deserts, and traded him mules for his cavalry mounts. This is an interesting thought, but certainly not logical. Whether Kearny made it in the spirit of fun would have been of little concern to these unfortunate beasts. Since theirs, their masters was grim. Griffin commented that the people of Santa Fé were not satisfied with conditions.

One of the more unexplained memories of the march was the decision of Kearny to use his draft animals in such the heavy wagons across the Rio Grande. On September 27, Griffin observed: "... the mules purchased by the Quartermaster are extremely weak. Many of them are nearly given out ..." The worst was waiting to take its heavy toll.

On October 1, 1846, after one week on the trail, Emory noted that the wagons had not come up, and that the troops had waited a full day for them. The next day, he said that the wagons mounted the sand hills but with great difficulty. By the 5th, the troops reached Socorro, a Mexican village on the river. At a place near here they planned to leave the Rio Grande. They had originally meant to cross the mountains by way of the road to the Santa Rita copper mines. The 5th of October, however, was a day of destiny for Kearny and his men.

In mid-afternoon Kit Carson, the celebrated scout, and his men galloped into Socorro. Kearny learned from this group that the war had ended in California, and that Carson was bound for Washington with the news. Kearny should have been joyous, but the word that

the "Stars and Stripes" flew in every port on the California shores was bitter news for him. Among his instructions from the President was the order to take charge of affairs on arrival in San Diego. Now, Kearny was fearful that Fremont, already in that city, would usurp his command.

Kearny ordered Carson to guide the Army back over the trail on which he had just come. Carson hesitated, for he had hoped to proceed to Washington, but under threat of court-martial agreed to return to California. His one qualification, however, was his wish to abandon the wagons. Carson felt they were too heavy for the deserts ahead. Carson also insisted that the troops travel farther down-river before turning west. Kearny kept his wagons, and Carson his wish on the route to take.

As the men moved southward, the travel became more difficult. The Doctor recorded in his diary that the troops were on the worst stretch of road yet encountered. Emory noted on October 9, "The road is unbroken, obstructed by bushes, and so bad the wagons only made 11½ miles, and the teams came into camp blown and staggering after their day's work."

The deep sand of the river terraces in the Valley of the Rio Grande soon proved Carson to have been correct about the wagons. These transports averaged 5,000 pounds loaded, and required six to eight mules per wagon. On the 10th, the decision was made to abandon them. A party was sent back for pack animals and saddles. In four days the men returned, dejected that no other animals were available.

Earlier, Kearny had determined to leave two-thirds of his command in Santa Fé to wait for Philip St. George Cooke, who followed the Army of the West with the Mormon Battalion. Again, Kearny decided to reduce his strength, keeping only Companies "C" and "K" of the First Dragoons. All animals except those mounted by the cavalry were pressed into pack-duty.

Rid at last of the mule-killing wagons, Kearny felt that the force would move with a minimum of trouble. This would have been the case, except that he made another fateful decision. He chose to keep two of his howitzers!* Whatever might have been gained by giving up the wagons was lost ten times over by the howitzers. The back-breaking toil and the expenditure of mules involved in getting these guns down the Gila River sealed the fate of the First Dragoons and contributed heavily to their losses at San Pasqual.

Historians are divided in opinions as to why Kearny chose to keep the howitzers when it seems apparent that anything with wheels would put a terrible drain on the animals. Some authors have suggested that Kearny saw his cavalry mounted on mules and his private train of animals carrying packs. Did the General think the howitzers would at least give his troops some military appearance? Others

*The Army field pieces were described by Capt. Abraham R. Johnston, of the First Dragoons, as being: short-barreled heavy guns, mounted on wheels roughly three feet in diameter, three feet apart. They fired a 12-lb. ball.

not so kindly disposed to Kearny claim the choice was a vain-glorious attempt to show who was boss! Whatever the reason, the consequences were tragic.

Five days later, the Army left the Rio Grande. Travelling over well-trodden Indian trails, the men crossed the mountains in four days. The passage was made "without adventure worth mention." The easy travel of the mountain trails, however, came to an abrupt end on the Gila River.

Again the Army became bogged down in sand because of the wheeled vehicles. The howitzers were not particularly heavy, but the wheels upon which they were mounted were so narrow they sank into the sand at every turn, and so short in circumference that even a small stone caused them to swing about.

Toward the end of the day October 21, Emory wrote, "This has been a hard day on the animals. The howitzers did not reach camp at all. . . ." The following day he added this postscript, "The howitzers came up at 9 o'clock, having in the previous day, their shafts broken, and, indeed, everything that was possible to break about them."

On October 26, the troops struggled along the trail on short rations; more than half of the men were on foot. The howitzers used up the mules so fast, that the cavalry was forced to give up its mounts for the hauling of the guns. The diaries reflect a growing feeling of discouragement on the march and complete disgust for the howitzers. As Emory put it, "Soon after breaking camp, the banks of the river became gullied on both sides by deep arroyos. We covered 16 miles in 8½ hours of incessant toil to the men and misery to the mules. Some did not reach camp at all."

By now, it had become evident that the howitzers were wearing down the men and mules. Each day the Army fell further behind schedule. On October 30, the entries in both diaries contained dire predictions of impending doom, ". . . the mules are breaking down fast. . . ."

November 1, the troops were now thirty-five days out of Santa Fé. According to Carson, the average crossing between Santa Fé and San Diego took 55 days. On this basis, Kearny should have been, at this time, two-thirds of the way to San Diego. But such was not the case! Instead, the army was locked in a struggle with the howitzers; uphill, downhill; over sandy trail and rocky trail. Their progress forward slowed to a crawl. Emory's entry of November 2 contained this rueful statement, "As day dawned we looked anxiously for the howitzers . . . which are impeding our progress."

One could conclude that even Kearny would have had enough of the howitzers. The struggle to move them even a mile was taking the heart out of the Army. Emory put into words what was probably the most prevalent thought in camp when he wrote, "The howitzers did not reach camp last night. Since the 1st of November we have been travelling with incredible labor and great expenditures of mule power."

Despite the terrible toll of animals, Kearny drove his Army harder than ever, for he had learned that warfare had been openly

renewed in California. The General was more determined than ever to get there before hostilities ended.

At the end of a toilsome November 6, Griffin wrote, "The howitzers have been left in the mountains. The great difficulty of getting anything along with wheels caused the loss of another day . . . Lord knows when they will arrive, though I know the men worked like devils to get the cursed things ahead."*

Fifty-seven days out of Santa Fé, the ragged Army reached the Colorado River. Kit Carson had earlier been quoted as saying that no one ever left the Gila Trail with a full stomach. The troops of Kearny were no exception.

After a rest of two days — a part of which was spent gathering food and rounding up fresh animals — the Army crossed the Colorado and pushed northwest toward Warner's Hot Springs. The deserts were still no kinder to the force. Clouds, heavy with rain, hung over the mountains on their left, but this only frustrated the troops more. The water holes they could find were salty and forage for the animals was scarce. An unusual fog, reported by Emory as "rolling in from the Gulf," and their arrival at the springs of Vallecito, was probably their only saving grace.

Some time during the day of December 2, the Army reached the head of San Felipe Valley, turned northwest by west into the oak-dotted valley of Buena Vista Creek, and after a short march, arrived on the plain of what is now Lake Henshaw. It takes little imagination to feel the relief these men must have experienced at this time! Despite the cold wind from early December snows fingering at their worn clothing, this section of the back country must have seemed like paradise to the First Dragoons.

Upon arrival at Warner's, Kearny hoped to obtain fresh horses and mules. Once again fate would deny this. No animals were available. There were, however, reports that some belonging to General Flores were grazing nearby. The men who needed rest, were instead, put to the task of rounding the animals up. Emory was quite critical of this and complained, "Tired as our people were, nightfall found them in the saddle. . . ."

The unfortunate circumstances which overtook Kearny and his troops at San Pasqual have been blamed on many things: poor judgment, lackadaisical scouting, and bad timing. The decision to attack has been laid to the vanity of Kearny and over-indulgence of his troops on the night of December 5, 1846. It may be true that all these factors were present, but the real cause for defeat quite possibly goes much deeper than these human characteristics.

In retrospect, in August 1846, the Army of the West left Kansas when there was a war to be won. The glory of a conquest at Santa Fé was taken from them by a retreating foe. Next came the incredible

*Added to the woe these weapons caused the men is the ironical fact that neither proved to be of any use at San Pasqual. One was captured by Pico, and of the other, nothing was ever heard again.

march, during which the fat plum of California was snatched from their grasp and later offered again. While on the march, the men faced fatigue, privation, thirst, and starvation. Add to these the exhaustive struggle to pull the howitzers to California. One need not be surprised at the turn of events of San Pasqual!

That the troops may have been "spoiling for a fight" is probably the understatement of the times! The need to face an enemy was great. The need to accomplish the task they had set out to do — to draw blood, and if necessary — to bleed, was by now most important.

The sound of "Boots and Saddles" at 2 o'clock in the morning of December 6, must have been greeted with mixed emotions in the camp of the Dragoons. With eyelids heavy from needed sleep, and bodies stiff with fatigue and cold, the men probably felt irritated at being aroused in the middle of the night.

One can feel, when reading the accounts of the battle, the quickening heart-beat as the word spread through the camp that here it was at last! A fight! A contact with a foe they had traveled 1500 miles to meet.

These men knew the job they had been sent to do. Griffin scrawled in his diary that morning, "...we are off in search of adventure." Right or wrong, they approached their date with destiny with an "...ardor of anticipated victory." They fought their battle in the best traditions of the military, even though many unexpected problems arose. Mistakes were committed, as evidenced by the lop-sided casualty list, but it was only after the dust settled and the clamor of battle died away that the furor of criticism began which still surrounds the violence at San Pasqual.

The mistakes of the battle were justified as committed under the pressure of brash haste, which had been the theme of the march since its beginning in August. By December, the need to act with cautious appraisal had been thrown over in the struggle to make contact with the enemy.

The exact causes of the Battle of San Pasqual may never be known, but quite possibly they began with irrevocable finality on the 10th of October, 1946: the moment General Stephen Watts Kearny chose to keep those accursed howitzers.

AN EARLY SAN DIEGO PHYSICIAN: DAVID HOFFMAN

by

CLIFFORD L. GRAVES, M.D.

A vast and sweeping panorama unfolded itself for the men aboard the little steamer as it toiled its way laboriously around Point Loma on a fine November day in 1853. "If this isn't the most beautiful sight in the world," said a handsome young man at the taffrail, "I'll go back East and start all over again."

But Dr. David Hoffman had little intention of going back East. After all, he had worked long and hard to get where he was. Born in the East, he had come the long overland trail as a boy, then worked his way through Toland Medical College in San Francisco. When he graduated he was 25, an age when most young men are impatient to start in the practice of medicine. But Dr. Hoffman was not that impatient. Ambitious and inquisitive, he wanted to see the world before it swallowed him. So he took a job as ship surgeon with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. For the better part of two years, he saw the West Coast in all its rugged beauty. Of all the places he visited, San Diego impressed him the most. Not the town, but the setting: a gentle shoreline, a sheltered bay, a purple backdrop. What more could anybody ask for?

Dr. Hoffman's position in 1853 was not greatly different from that of any young doctor who is trying to decide where to settle, but he had less to go by because southern California was still a land of strife and Indians. In the north, Monterey was a city of some grace and charm, and San Francisco was pushing hard for status. But in the south, all was vacant and imponderable. San Diego? It looked about as inviting as Tecate does today. With its dusty streets and

Dr. Graves, a native of The Netherlands, came to the United States in 1924. He earned his bachelor's degree at Columbia, and his medical degree at the University of Michigan. He is a surgeon in La Jolla. Cast on Omaha Beach on D-Day in 1944, he later wrote a book, *Front Line Surgeon*, now out of print. He is a past editor of the *Bulletin* of the San Diego County Medical Society, a fellow of the American College of Surgeons, and president of the local chapter of the American Youth Hostels organization.

Abstracted From Pablo Vejar, "Recuerdos de un Viejo," Dec. 13, 1877:

Konrad F. Schreier, Jr.
1639 Mandeville Canyon Rd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90049

"From Dominguez Rancho Vejar marched with some 25 men in his command with Andres Pico to San Pascual, along with part of the second company under Bautista Moreno and part of the fifth company under Nicolas Hermosillo, or some 112 men in all. They went to Rancho La Soledad, about four leagues from San Diego. From there, Pico sent some men to San Diego Mission to scout around. They found out from some Indians that some men under Gillespie passed the Mission going toward the sierra. A sister of Pico's, Margarita, wrote him that Gillespie was trying to join another American force in the sierra, and she knew that they were to go around by way of Santa Maria to arrive at San Pascual. Pico then divided his force, sending a part of the force to El Cajon and the rest to San Pascual. Vejar accompanied Pico to San Pascual. They arrived on a Friday, which Vejar believes was December 4th, or two days before the battle. Vejar and Moreno felt it was necessary to inspect their men before the battle in order to know how well they could fight. Pico left the horses in care of the Indians, who told the Mexicans that the Americans were at Rancho Santa Maria, five or six leagues away on a steep rocky road. Vejar felt that they themselves and not the Indians should take care of the horses, but to his surprise the Indians took very good care of them. Had it not been for the Indians the Americans 'would have caught us like so many sheep,' for 'later it was learned that Pico was planning to surrender us.' The Indians, on their own account, were exploring and spying for the Mexicans, without being told to do so. Vejar says he told Pico that they should prepare for

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"Recuerdos de un Viejo,"

an attack, but Pico replied that the road was worse than the Cuesta de Santa Ines, that the Americans could not possibly make it over the road bringing cannon at night. 'I felt that this was due to his lack of experience rather than some intrigue.' It was Vejar's turn on watch as officer of the day. He stood his watch, turned it over to Jose Alipas without any incident occurring during that time. Vejar sent Alipas to the foot of the grade, for it was there that the enemy was expected to appear. Soon an Indian came to see Don Andres and tell him that the enemy was approaching with its cannons. Pico asked if the force were as big as his own, and the Indian replied 'Que! Ustedes no valen nada; ellos son mas muchos.' ('What! You aren't worth anything; they are more mucher.') Pico told him to say nothing to the others. When the Indian left the jacal where Pico was staying, Juan Lobo and Vejar came upon him, asked if the enemy were coming, and he said yes. When asked how many he said he didn't know, as it was night and he only heard their approach, but they had heard what he had told Pico. Vejar claims he entered Pico's jacal and told him they should be getting the horses. They had an argument because Pico say no reason for doing so, etc. Vejar and Moreno took a corporal and four soldiers each and went for the horses, but they couldn't find them until an Indian showed them where they were, in a hidden spot with very good pasture. The officer of the day, Jose Alipas, had begun his watch when a dog began barking, whereupon Pico shouted, 'Sentinel, who is officer of the day?" The sentinel, who was Jose Maria Ibarra, answered it was Jose Alipas. 'Tell him to

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mount, because that dog is barking at people!' Alipas mounted, went in the direction of the barking dog, which was in the enemy's direction. He had gone about 50 paces when his companions heard his 'Quien Vive?' When Vejar heard his voice he gave the order 'To arms!' to his company, and Moreno did likewise. Vejar made a quick inspection, found three men had no ammunition, so he ran to Pico's jacal, told him to give him three cartucheras, but Pico refused. Vejar says he told Pico he'd take them by force, so Pico gave them to him. Alipas, seeing that the enemy had pulled back, came back, came back and reported. Moreno took a patrol and found their trail for there was a good moon (ed. note: wasn't it raining?) and he figured the enemy force to have been eight or ten men. He followed to the foot of the grade and there found a bundle of very good blankets which he gave to those who needed them. During this time the horses arrived, and Pico said to leave them alone until further orders. Vejar gave orders to his men to mount up, contrary to Pico's orders, he claims, for the Indians had told them that the enemy was almost upon them. Vejar called the alferez of his company and asked if he knew the saying of Ochoa. The alferez, Dolores Higuera, known as 'Guero' Higuera, replied 'Si, un tiro y a la lanza'. ('Yes, one shot and then the lances'). He (Vejar) says Pico gave no orders and he had to do everything, etc. Alipas was sent to the foot of the grade with orders to fire a pistol shot if he saw the enemy approach. He went there, and as he was ar-

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cont.

"Recuerdos de un Viejo,"

ranging the saddle of his horse, he was about to mount again when he saw the enemy, so he fired his pistol in warning. The enemy was on the 'plan de la cuesta' about 500 to 600 yards away, so the order was given, 'al centro, un tiro, y a la lanza.' ('To the center, one shot, and lances ready'). One of the enemy was riding ahead, a certain Captain named Morin, they learned later. (ed. note: This was in reality probably Captain Johnston, not Captain Moore). He was a brave man and the first to die. He met with Andres Pico, fired a pistol at him and missed, then Pico gave him a blow with his saber, but he turned aside to avoid the blow. Leandro Osuna then struck him with his lance, throwing him forward and knocking him off his horse. As he fell, he took a bullet from Tomas Sanchez, the same man who was later Sheriff of Los Angeles County. The shooting between the two forces continued; Vejar met two companions in the battle and told them to go off to the side. The Americans heard his voice, in Spanish, and four of them came at him. He tried to escape and took off; they were in pursuit, so Vejar held his lance ready, trying to get to the top of the arroyo where he could turn and charge the enemy with his lance. He had not foreseen a hole made by a burrowing animal which his horse tripped into and fell. Vejar's spur was stuck in the cinch under the horse and he couldn't get loose. The four men rode up to him and all fired a shot, coming close enough to him to spray him with dirt, but missing. They then returned to the battle. Another four men came by, and they too fired at him. His horse moved

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enough for him to move his leg and rise with the aid of his lance. Two more riders approached, one took aim, fired, and missed. The other said 'God damn' took aim, but his pistol did not fire. They then informed him he was prisoner in a mixture of English and Spanish. Philip Crosthwaite conducted him to the rear, where there was a Canadian mestizo whom Vejar feared might kill him, but no such thing happened. He was taken to where the wounded were lying, including Gillespie and Antonio Rubidoux. Gillespie asked him how many Mexicans were killed. Vejar admitted he didn't know, as he had been taken prisoner during the fight. Dr. Griffin said, 'why don't you tell the truth? Ten died and thirty were wounded.' Inas much as there had been but 75 men who entered the action, of whom only 30 had firearms, Vejar said he guessed it would have been more. Judging from all the shooting, he really thought so, but later he found out that only (Francisco Lara) was killed in the battle, and Casimiro Rubio later died of wounds at San Juan Capistrano. The wounded were Juan Alvarado, Romualdo Yon, Jose Aguilar, Joaquin Valenzuela, Santiago Lobo, Jose Duarte, and Antonio Ibarra. Vejar doesn't remember who else. The troop which came in earlier and was spotted by Jose Alipas, was guided by (Rafael Machado,) as he himself later admitted. In one incident of the battle Gabriel Garcia had his horse killed and his lance splintered, dragged his adversary out of the saddle, grabbing his sword and hacking away at him. Pedro Perez came by, lanced the man, and said, 'Asi, se hace.' ('That's the way it's done'). The Americans had a cannon 'obus'(in this case, a howitzer, not a mortar) which was surrounded by men armed with sabers. The

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cont.

"Recuerdos de un Viejo,"

Mexicans charged, lanced some, knocked down others, then took the cannon off the field. In this action Kearney was wounded. After this action (the battle of San Pascual) the Americans retired to the rancho of San Bernardo, after having interred their dead in a cactus patch at that same rancho of San Pascual. The Mexican forces began to harry them again in San Bernardo, staying there a day or two skirmishing with the enemy. They took 200 horses and mules from the Americans during this time. Vejar was exchanged on the 8th of December, Tuesday, for the American prisoner, Godey, or Godoy."

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This is a transcription of handwritten documents in the Bancroft Library. Spelling and punctuation are as written; words in [] are those which I was unable to decipher with certainty. Words which appeared to be lined out in the manuscript have been lined out in pencil. Inserted page numbers in () refer to manuscript pages.

Benjamin Hayes Notes, #38:

San Pasqual

In the Spring of 1856 I visited this place, for no other purpose than to see 'the battle ground' and verify what facts I might. Mr. Phillip Crosthwaite (who was in the battle) and Mr. Willie B. Couls accompanied me. Upon understanding my object, the old Indian captain, Pantá, at once led me to a spot some fifty yards toward the hill, from the rocky elevation on which his own house stands, and at the edge of an Indian corral, near which the cows were grazing. This he pointed out as the spot where Capt. Pen. Moore fell.

He would be apt to remember this, from the fact that nothing is more talked of still, among Californians and Indians, than the bravery displayed by that officer.

Directly opposite to the southeast, at the distance of half-a-mile, - a patch of mustard and weeds and the dry river bed intervening, - the road is seen descending the steep San Pascual hill, precipices on either side. To the left northeastward is the cañada through which runs San Bernardo river, and up which a short distance the Californians had their horses grazing on that night. Their horses had all been turned out, with the exception of three or four: evidently without any suspicion of a hostile force so near them.

(pg 2) The general opinion of the Californians is, that Leandro Osuna killed Capt. Moore, with a lance. Senor Lopez adds Pablo Apis (Indian captain of Temecula) to the number of his assailants. Common Rumor makes Don Andres Pico, the hero of this bloody day. One account by an [redacted]s (Californian) places Don Andres Pico and his two principal officers, Leonardo Cota and Thomas Sanchez, snugly provided a mile off, on the Soto hill; and makes Juan Lobo, a corporal, the actual commander - by fierce example, rather than by word - in this famous melee. He was about twenty three years old, from Mission Vieja, Los Angeles County; whose experience in life had been limited to the care of [illegible] and horses in that small neighborhood. In all the Californians [redacted] numbered more than sixty, young men chiefly - not 160, as Gen. Kearny thought. Some ten of them were from San Diego County, the rest from Los Angeles.

Gabriel Garcia and Francisco Higuera carried off the American howitzer. The Californian version insists, that only one Californian was killed, by the name of Lara: and that few of them had any fire-arms. They had not time to form into line. Mr. Crosthwaite and others do not think that the actual battle was of over five minutes' duration - a running skirmish. The Californians at first fleeing, then a portion of them turning upon and routing the Americans. Crosthwaite [redacted] the life of Don Pablo Vejar whom Alex. Godey's [redacted] was about to kill. Capt. Gillespie was lanced by Higuera, and might have been killed, but for the attractions which his splendid horse and serape presented to his antagonist, who (pg 3) hurried away with them.

On a little plain, far west of the crossing of the river where the fight began, is the lone tree at which Lt. Hammond was surrounded and mortally wounded.

I add from the unpublished Journal of Dr. John S. Griffin, Surgn.

"The morning was excessively cold, and we felt it the more, as [illegible] of us were wet to the skin. The light was not sufficient for me to

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distinguish any thing like a line of the enemy...Hammond was the first wounded man I saw. He had been in the advance with Moore, and got a lance wound on the left side between the eighth and ninth ribs. I told him to go a little further to the rear and I would attend to him. At this time I was separated from him: when the General saw me and told me he was wounded and wanted my services. Shortly afterward the devils got around me. I dropped my gun which I had snapped at a fellow and drew an empty pistol. Warding off his lance, this answered the purposes of a loaded one, till the fog separated us. I then met Capt. Gillespie. He was bleeding most profusely...More was killed far in the advance, leading the second charge; and Hammond, I was told, received his wound, in attempting to rescue Moore. - I should think there was not fifty men who saw the enemy."

I am satisfied, it will require considerable attention and labor, to ascertain all the truth of this lamentable affair. Enough appears to be shadowed forth, to leave strong doubt if more would, in the words of of Gen. Kearny, "assist in forming the wealth of our national glory." - [illegible] only with the gallantry of them that fell and the memorable (pg 4) fortitude and courage of the survivors.

The battle was fought on December 6th, 1846.

Of the officers engaged in the battle, General William H. Emory and General J. W. Davidson are still in the service (1875.) The last named in 1846 was Lt. of 1st Dragoons. Capt. H. S. Turner was Gen. Kearny's aid. He now lives at St. Louis, Mo. He resigned, I think, in 1849 or 1850; and was a partner in the Banking House of Lucas, Turner & Co., of which Gen. Sherman was the manager on this coast. Col. Thomas Swords was Kearny's Quarter master; is believed to be now on the retired list. He was Deputy Quartermaster General.

Lt. W. H. Warner, who was wounded at San Pascual, was killed by the Pitt river Indians, in 1849.

Dr. John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon, U.S.A., was the Medical Officer of Kearny's command. He resigned in 1854, and in the same year took up his residence at the City of Los Angeles, engaged ever since in the successful practice of his profession; and is amongst the foremost of its citizens in every useful enterprise.

(S Pascual)

Gabriel Garcia and Francisco Higuera took the cannon.

Gabriel Garcia rode up to the cannons the American shot killed his mule - shot it in the hed. He seized the cannoneer, & killed him. Near the cannon, Higuera had lanced Capt. Gillespie, and might have easily killed him: but attracted by his fine white horse & a splendid serape, he occupied himself first with seizing these, then joined Garcia, and the two carried off the cannon.

When Don Tonito arrived at Soto house, found Pico, Sanchez & Cota there. Shortly afterward the cannon arrived, in charge of Garcia & Higuera.

As Don Tonito was making his way from the Indian village - it was not yet clear - he found Americans all around him, running away - the Californians behind them killing them.

Before arriving at the point where now is the Church, he saw three Americans leading off Lara. He then ascended the hill. He could see very plainly. About 100 yards above the Church, they killed him he

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heard the shot, & saw Lara fall. Don Tonito saw Lara deliver up his gun. Then two of the Americans left. The other killed Lara, and left too.

Don Tonito then went down the hill to ~~about~~ where Moses Manasse's house now is. There he saw that the Californians were killing the Americans. A few reached the house of Moses Manasse.

Don Tonito then went on to the hill of Soto.

At Manasse's, it was clear - very clear - no fog at all.

~~The~~ cannons

After Don Tonito left the house of Manasse, the cannon arrived - soon after Garcia took it.

The Americans camped at the place where now is the house of Manasse - there is a patch of trees back of his house - there they camped.

The Californians retired below - [and] that night went down the San Bernardo River, to an Encinal that same night.

(pg 2) Juan Lobo & Mariano Silva fought the Americans - [mixed] in with them, fighting.

After taking the cannon, at the house of Manasse, the Californians went no further - they were without an officer - Lobo only led in the [fighting] - commanding rather by example, than by word.

Leandro Orune did not enter to submit to Stockton, till after the battle of San Pascual - Don Tonito then came in from Pala and submitted.

Don Tonito went with Commodore Stockton to San Juan, where his family was - and remained there: he was not willing to take up arms against his own county men.

The Californians were actually still saddling their horses, when the Americans came down the San Pascual Hill & charged: it was not [yet a] clear day.

The Californians did not have time to form a line - before the attack began.

Hermosillo commanded one party of Californians, who went by Mt Cajon. Andres Pico went on to San Pascual. The expectation was to hem in on both sides the Americans who had been sent out by Stockton to the relief of Kearny: to catch them "in medio", between those two Californian forces.

Thought # 40 was confusing so put it in chronological order on next page

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Benjamin Hayes Notes, #40, in what I believe to be chronological order.

Hermosillo commanded one party of Californians, who went by Mt Cajon. Andres Pico went on to San Pascual. The expectation was to hem in on both sides the Americans who had been sent out by Stockton to the relief of Kearny: to catch them "in medio", between those two Californian forces. (1)

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Juan Lobo & Mariano Silva fought the Americans - [mixed] in with them, fighting.

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When Don Tonito arrived at Soto house, found [illegible] the cannon, with Garcia & Higuera.

After taking the cannon, at the house of Manasse, the Californians went no further - they were without an officer - Lobo only led in the [fighting] - commanding rather by example, than by word.

The Americans camped at the place where now is the house of Manasse - there is a patch of trees back of his house - there they camped.

The Californians retired below - [and] that night went down the San Bernardo River, to an Encinal that same night. (2)

Leandro Osuna did not enter to submit to Stockton, till after the battle of San Pascual - Don Tonito then came in from Pala and submitted.

Don Tonito went with Commodore Stockton to San Juan, where his family was - and remained there: he was not willing to take up arms against his own county men. (3)

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(1) Sally Johns states that on Dec. 5 Pico sent some of his men to El Cajon so the plan would be to hem in Gillespie's group, not Gray's.
(2) An Encinal is a California live oak.
(3) San Juan is probably San Juan Capistrano.

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Edgar Hastings interviewing Ramon Osuna, Oct. 17, 1958, at his place, 26th and K Sts/ San Diego, California

My name is Ramon Osuna. I was born in San Dieguito, California, Oct. 1, 1882. I can go back in my ancestry to my great-great-grandmother. Her name was Juliana Lopez; she was married Feb. 25, 1806. In a book, "Thirty-two Adobe Houses of Old California", which has a record of the family, the title page states that the pictures were reproduced from water-color paintings by Eva Scott Haynes, and the descriptive text is by Isabel Lopez De Pages. It is a special publication of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California, in 1950.

My great-great-grandfather's name was Juan Maria Osuna. All my folks were born in San Diego County. My grandfather on my father's side was Leandro Osuna and my grandmother was Francisca Maron. My grandmother on my mother's side was Josefa Lopez and my grandfather was Philip Crosswait. My father was Julio Osuna and my mother was Josefa Crosswait. They were married in 1872. I had a sister, Leonitas, who passed away about four years ago. Mary, my next sister, was born about two years after Leonitas. I came next, in 1882; then there was Charlie Osuna---he has passed away. Ruth was older than Charlie; she is 68 now and is living at Delmar. Her name is Bertonsenzi. Marcos was the youngest; he was born at Rancho Santa Fe and is the only brother I have left.

I went to the San Dieguito school four miles from the ranch. I rode horseback. I quit at the end of the fourth grade and went to work to support my mother and the children. My father was separated from my mother and I took care of the family. I was 14. We had cattle; I was in the cattle business all the time, working with cattle all the time between the ranch and San Diego.

I got married in Los Angeles. My wife was one of the Abalus family of Capistrano; they were old-timers in Capistrano, they came there from Spain, my wife's folks. I met her in Los Angeles. I was driving teams for quite a few fellows and I worked for a fellow named M.P.Fealy for five years. He was an Irishman, a contractor; he built roads and hauled gravel and sand in Los Angeles.

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I was married in Los Angeles about 40 years ago. My oldest son is Ramon, born in 1910. Ralph is next, born in 1919. Robert was born in 1922, in San Diego, at Twenty-third and Market Streets. My first wife died, and I was a widower for fifteen years. Then I married again and we have a little girl, Rose Marie. I married Isabel Case of San Diego, about 1954. My wife and I are separated.

My grandfather, Julio Osuna, fought in the battle of San Pasqual, I remember very well, for my great-grandmother used to tell me. He was in the battle of San Pasqual, in the Mexican army. What tickled me was that when my grandfather was beating Kit Carson over the head with a rifle, my other grandfather fell across the reach and throwed him off the horse---that Philip Crosswait; and when my other grandfather he got up, why he met Captain Moore face to face, and my grandfather killed Captain Moore. Then he went to reach for his horse and he met Ramon Carillo, who was fighting with them, and he said that he had a prisoner by the name of Soranno, from Old Town---had him tied to a tree. This Sorrano said, "I hope the American people will hit me in the right place, so I won't suffer." So Carillo reached for his knife and turned Sorrano loose and let him go. He run down the San Pasqual river just as fast as he could.

After the battle was over my grandfather rode his horse, El Apache (that was his favorite horse) and when the battle was all over my grandfather, Leandro Osuna, and Ramon Carillo took all the people to Los Penasquitos, at Francisco Alvarado's ranch, and they doctored them there and helped them all night to get to San Diego. They went down the San Dieguito River, right through the present Lusardi ranch and right through to Penasquitos; an old trail is still there. They stayed all night and brought them in to San Diego the next day. That's the way the Americans came in from New Mexico to Arizona to what is called Imperial Valley now---right up the Mountain Springs grade; they come up that trail there. They cut across from Descanso---there's an old trail, and they went up that trail to Warner's. They come down the old trail by Ramona, where there's a road that goes down to San Pasqual that used to be a trail; there was no wagon road. It comes down into Bandini Canyon.

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One of the old settlers in the San Dieguito Valley when I was a youngster was C.V.Smith. He bought part of our ranch at San Dieguito. That was way back when I was a kid. And all the Kellys---I knew the Kellys very well. Frank and Charlie Kelly---I knew them all. The Ortegas were in there, and Lusardi, and Hookton. And there was a Wilson there; they came from Santa Barbara in the early days to that country there. There was the Doaks and the Higgins---they came in the early days.

That Higgins got killed. They lived next to Lusardi's ranch, and the whole Higgins family got killed; the Indians killed them. He homesteaded in a place they called Los Luceros; that means "the morning star". He homesteaded there and then he was killed, and his wife and three children, by an Indian they called Blanco. The Indian and his mother they were going in a wagon to the Indian reservation and they camped right close there. The Indian left in the night; he told his mother he would be right back. He hit the door and when Mr. Higgins came to the door he hit him over the head with an axe and killed him, and then he killed his wife. And then he got hold of a little girl by the feet and hit her head over the table and killed the little girl. A week after Father Ubach, all the time the priest, went to go to say mass, and he found those people there laying dead. The Indian got shot himself afterwards. And then his mother told the law that her boy killed that family. They called him Blanco, but his right name was Kanaka. He had a brother named Jose La Lotus Kanaka. Kanaka raised the boy by the name of Louis and they called him Louis Kanaka. He got to be an outlaw. And he stole my uncle Ramon's horse named Siccum, and he was riding that horse when Sam Morrano and my uncle Leandro found him and they shot him; they killed the Indian.

I knew Yankee Jim, but that wasn't his real name. I don't know his real name but he came to this country and there was two brothers by the name of Juan and Ramon Rodriguez. They came from Spain and they started the goat ranch on Goat Island--- that was North Island, where the Coronado Hotel is. They had a boat to transfer the goats going across to La Playa, and this fellow by the name of Yankee Jim st[illegible] the boat. My grandfather , Philip Crosswait, was the sheriff then, but there wa[illegible]

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for stealing boats. But they got them for stealing a horse from Zamarano and they hanged them to a tree in Old Town. They got him for that, and that was a horse stealing and my grandfather Crosswait said "hang him to a tree in Old Town." He put them on a cart and motioned for the driver to go and when the driver went Yankee Jim was hanging on the tree. And there was no more Yankee Jim. If we had some of them laws now it would be better.

When I was a boy fifteen years old my Dad and my uncles and muself and three Indians took some cattle to Algadonies, this side of Yuma, Arizona. We drove them right through the desert. We had about 250 head. We picked them up at different places in San Diego County, picked them up all over, and my uncle took them to Algadones, right below Yuma on the California side. We drove them right across the desert---we went to what they call Carriso Creek; we left Julian to the left, a little bit. We went through Carriso Creek, watered the cattle there, and then we didn't water them until there was a Blue Lake, a place where Seeley is now. There was a big lake of water; we watered them there.

My grandfather, Philip Crosswait, and his nephew, William Jeffers Gatewood, started the San Diego Union down in Old Town. My grandfather was sheriff and he held quite a bit of officer's work in San Diego. Then he went down to Mexico and bought him a cattle ranch; he owned from Rosarita Beach to Ensenada, he owned all that country, the old man, at one time; he was in the cattle business. But he spent most of his time in San Diego. He came here a little before Kearny's army came; he was here when Kearny came in with his people. He volunteered, my grandfather volunteered, and went to Warner's ranch and got some horses for the battles; he brought them down with him. And when my grandfather Crosswait was coming back he met the Pico troops, and that Irishman fought them all---he went right through. They wounded him on the finger but Crosswait made it through. He died here in San Diego. He had quite a ranch up there and he gave all his boys the ranch and came back to San Diego and died here.

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This is a transcription of an 1878 manuscript dictated to a member of H. H. Bancroft's staff. It begins on page 37 and inserted page numbers in () correspond to manuscript page numbers. Spelling, punctuation and insertions are as written. Words which are lined out in pencil were lined out in the manuscript; words which I am not sure of are in [].

PIONEER DATA FROM 1832 FROM THE MEMORY OF DON JUAN FORSTER

...[to] Capt José Ma. Flores as Comandante General, and evacuated Los Angeles with his few men, retiring to San Pedro to take ship.

The Californians were then again masters of their town.

Preparations were then made to proceed to San Diego and retake it from the Americans - that expedn. was under command of Leonardo Cota and José Alipaz, who held a council of war under a sycamore tree still existing in front of my house here in Santa Margarita ranch, to fix upon their future movements.

They hanged around San Diego some time and were actually at the flagstaff where they hoisted their flag, but seeing an American force [illegible] from the place where the fleet was at anchor (called the Playa) they had to retire - They then about this time, learned that Gillespie had secretly left San Diego with 40 men, and gone off towards

was despatched

the Pass. Gillespie ~~marching~> to meet Genl. Kearny & his forces & help them to reach San Diego. The Californians (pg 38) were not aware of the coming of Gen. Kearny, and went in pursuit of Gillespie & his party. They didn't catch up with him until he had joined Kearny.

~~In meantime a force under Dn. Andrés Pico~~

Now I come to think of it, I believe the council of war held under the Aliso in my ranch was after they had learned of Gillespie having left San Diego. ~~It was~~

Andrés Pico then came down & took command of the whole California force - This had previously been divided into two parties, each of which was to go into San Diego by a different route, and at same time cut off all resources that the Americans might make available - Among other things driving away the stock.

marched

Don Andres Pico & his force ~~of~~ towards San Pascual with the view of [illegible] Gillespie's return to San Diego, for it was believed that [illegible] had gone after provisions

[illegible] anything of Gillespie - was attacked by the enemy.

Capt. Stokes, an Englishman, learned where the Californians were encamped, and gave information to Gen. Kearny who immediately planned a night attack. This would in all probablilty have been successful had it not been for a noisy poodle dog - It was raining in torrents that night - Dec. 5th 1846 -

The Californians' encampmt was at the Indian village -

some

Kearny sent on ~~two~~ men to reconnoitre the enemy's position & a

followed by some Indian dogs

little poodle dog made such a tremendous noise that it aroused the suspicions of the Californians. Patrols were immediately sent out who made a circuit of the camp in the direction where the alarm appeared to be, and altho' they saw no party they came across some blankets which after carrying into camp, they noticed on them the mark U.S. - Then the cry was to horse!, but before they had got into position the Americans (pg 40) came upon them pell-mell -

The Californians (whose whole number was of 72 men) ran in disorder, and got mixed up with Kearny's Dragoons - who used their

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fire-arms, and the Californians their lances. They ran together so mixed up for half a mile (the ground where the attack was commenced was very unfavorable for cavalry) till they reached a point of rocks below which there is a large plain - Thus far the Californians seemed to be in retreat & the Americans going in pursuit - but, ~~I believe~~ the fact was that the former were running for a favorable position, and when they got to it just below the point of rocks, turned upon their pursuers and then the fight became general. I believe that Kearny's force sustained a loss of 22 officers & men - Kearny was severly wounded by a lance thrust. Gillespie was hurled down from his horse by the [huero] (Dolores) Higuera and escaped being killed by feigning that he was dead. He was wounded though by the thrust of a lance and left for dead.

Kearny & his son retreated to (pg 41) to the point of rocks & fortified themselves in the best manner possible among the large boulders. Amongst the Slain on the American side were Capts Moore & Johnston who were held in high estimation for their gentlemanly proficiency & deportment, & gallantry.

The American force at the beginning of the engagement was of 80 dragoons under Kearny, some 30 or 40 men under Gillespie, and a few native Californians that had joined Gillespie - so I judge the total to have been 120 men.

The Americans held that position until that night or the following when one, ~~until~~ an opportunity occurred during the night to affect a retreat, which they did, taking possession of a rocky hill at San Bernardo, from where they sent in - ~~Alexander Godey~~ - to San Diego to give information. ~~He~~ The report reached San Diego from whence a return answer was ~~gave the information, and when sent them in charge of Alexander Godey, but before he got on his way back with the return answer, before getting~~ into camp, was captured by the Californians, and conducted to Los Angeles. He was allowed, to remain during that night at my house in San Juan Capistrano, on his word of honor that he would not attempt to escape -

Spanish words:
Aliso: Alder
huero: empty; addled; sterile

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A CALIFORNIO VIEW OF THE BATTLE OF SAN PASQUAL

A Research Paper

Presented to

EDUCATORS

OF

CALIFORNIA

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Created At

San Diego State University

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Introduction

There have been many historical accounts of the Battle of San Pasqual and just as many different or disputed 'factual interpretations' of this same conflict. The battle of San Pasqual continues to rage even in the twentieth century as historians are engaged in open debate on many of the details that surround this intriguing event. Historians continue to maintain diverse assessments of the recorded facts. However, one dominant fact prevails: few historians have been able to agree on the circumstances surrounding the battle. The basic issue of whether the victory was the American's (Kearny's) or the Mexican's (Pico's) remains in debate. Most of the available accounts emphasize Kearny's trek across the continent and his 'debatable' victory at San Pasqual.

This essay will concentrate on the accounts of the Battle of San Pasqual by analyzing the political climate, the events happening in California from 1844 to 1846, and the prevalent cultural attitudes existing in California prior to Kearny's arrival. This approach to history is important as it both describes relevant conditions and chronicles events which had a great impact on the Battle of San Pasqual. Having developed a Californio setting, the essay will then focus on the importance of Kearny's journey to the actual battle and finally the consequences of the battle. It will cover Gillespie's behavior toward the Californios, assess the Californio's actions prior to war, and examine Stockton's decision to move his base of operation south to San Diego instead of north to Monterey. Another aspect this essay will address is the effect that Kit Carson and Archibald Gillespie had on Kearny as his guides and advisors. Finally, this essay will demonstrate why the Battle of San Pasqual was unnecessary.

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CHAPTER ONE

CALIFORNIA: A CLASH OF CULTURES

In the Transition Period of California, Thomas O. Larkin, appointed consul for California in 1844, argued that California had been divided into two political factions. In the south was Pio Pico, the Governor of California with his seat of power in Los Angeles. The other faction was led by "General Castro, the military chief residing in Monterey." These two factons were known as the Picoians and the Castroians.

Castro had the advantage of controlling the entire state revenues of two to three thousand dollars.[1] The issue of the treasury, specifically the control of the treasury, created mounting tension between the Picoians and Castroians. Castro had already squandered the entire treasury for his own purposes, without providing protection from corruption and bandits. In the spring of 1846, with the repository of the treasury depleted, the Picoians and the Castroians "were about to resume the struggle and were lining up troops and horses for that purpose."[2]

With the onset of the Mexican-American War and a possible Yankee takeover, the Californios found themselves in a precarious position. First, they saw the opportunity for a brighter and more prosperous future as residents of an American territory. Second, they dreaded the possibility that Mexican armies would cross over the southern mountains and bring retaliation against American sympathizers during the war. Even if they took a neutral stance, the risk of losing life and property was great; should they "remain Mexican subjects at war's end they would open themselves to Mexico's thunderous wrath." For the most part the Californios possessed and retained genuine Mexican patriotism, and here it is important to note that California was technically still a province of Mexico. However, the ruling Spanish-

speaking population of California did not regard themselves as Mexicans. At that time California was considered somewhat of a 'Siberia' by central Mexico, and accordingly many of its derelicts were 'exiled' to California. As generations of Spanish descendants evolved on the Californian rancherias, the "men became conscious of their Californian birth." These Californios learned to defend themselves so that "from their youth' they 'were reared in the school of adversary . . . . who loved their country most dearly."[3] It was this love which transformed these dedicated youths to the graceful, deadly, master horsemen who became the "Las Lanzers" (The Lancers).

The Customs House, which was the only source of income for the Californio government, was located in Monterey. It was over the division of the Customs House money that suspicion and strife arose between Pico and Castro. This caused such a split between their forces and the overall power of California that "the clumsy and incompetent management of military affairs"[4] caused California to fall to the American forces. Had Pico and Castro been able to show a unified resistance they could have "raised a force of some three or four hundred of their countrymen [for the purpose of] expelling the immigrants, but they could not unite in anything."[5] One begins to question if war in California was really necessary when the combined forces of Pico and Castro, could not have maintained a unified front. This is evident in Pico's reluctance to carry the war aggressively against the Americans.

Many scholars believe that the war in California was not only a serious blunder but was quite unnecessary. In The Decline of the Californios John Leonard Pitt quotes Professor Hawgood who stated, "California would have become a part of the United States in the long run, but of her own free will, at her own initiative and in her own good time." This seems to be quite evident by the initial acceptance of Stockton's establishment of a civil government in Los Angeles. Had it not been for Captain Archibald H. Gillespie's harsh rule and his garrison's abuse of California wine and its people, the battle at San Pasqual may have been avoided.

There are many local historians who glorify John C. Fremont's Bear Flag Rebellion as American heroics. However, the truth which is supported by scholars such as Hubert Howe

Bancroft and Bernard DeVote is "that the United States connived rather cynically to acquire California, provoked the native Californians into a dirty fight, and bungled a simple job of military conquest." Commodore Robert F. Stockton arrived early in August of 1846 with a force at San Pedro and took the Los Angeles Plaza without opposition.[6] He remained a few days and left a guard under the "regrettable command of Captain Archibald H. Gillespie."[7] Then in early September Commodore Stockton sent Kit Carson to Washington D.C. with a dispatch outlining the situation in California. Stockton's dispatch was reproduced in the Congressional Globe wherein he stated, "in September I ordered an express mail to be sent in charge of Carson from the Cuidad de Los Angeles to the city of Washington to inform the President that the territory of California has been conquered and a civil government established therein."[8] What Stockton lamentably failed to mention was that he left an incompetent Gillespie in charge in Los Angeles.

While in command of Los Angeles in August, 1846, Gillespie provoked trouble, exhibiting the typical "Hispanophobia" of many Anglos during this time. Gillespie repeatedly used his military regime in an effort to squelch the Catholic traditions, native family pride and the Californio customs of Castilian dancing and entertaining which the Californios held dear to their hearts. Gillespie closed stores and outlawed the most innocent of social gatherings. He put the town under a curfew and searched several houses, confiscating the arms that were found. In doing so he humiliated the noble Los Angeles Californios of Castilian blood. It was no surprise that the Californios took up arms, and under the leadership of Cerbula Verlas, overwhelmed Gillespie. Gillespie was then forced to sign terms of surrender and on "October 4 the Guerrillas lined the streets and gloated while Gillespie's dejected men marched out of town."[9] Although Cerbulo Verlas led the attack against Gillespie, it was decided he was a hothead, so he was soon replaced by Captain Don Maria Flores.[10] After the attack on Gillespie, the calvary under Flores was divided into three squadrons of 133 men each.[11] The squadrons were commanded by Don Andres Pico, Manuel Garfias, and Jose Antonio Carrillo. Respectivly, each squadron was given a nickname: "Pico's was Los Galgos (The Greyhounds), Garfias's became known Las Aranas (The

Spiders), and Carrillo's was known somewhat derisively as Las Hilachas (The Ragged Ones)."[12] All of these groups were armed with lances, the blades of which were made of scrap iron. It would be the Galgos upon whom Gillespie would want to take out his revenge.

As Jauna Machado de Ridenton described the incident, "Gillespie was compelled by the Californians to abandon Los Angeles and retire to San Pedro where he went aboard ship."[13] This episode caused great hardship in California by prolonging the war. However, this victory also served to bolster the Californios spirit. With rebellion in the air, Stockton desperately needed a location with a sparsely settled Californio population.

Early in November Stockton could have marched his forces north to Monterey but fortunately he led them south to San Diego. This decision was providential for Kearny, for when Kearny arrived in California he received the help and reinforcements he desperately needed. Without them Kearny surely would have been swallowed up by Pico's forces.[14] Lieutenant Edward Beale described Stockton's arrival in San Diego in this manner: when "the ship was soon safely anchored in the harbor of San Diego. . . . we began active preparations against [the enemy in] Los Angeles. The men were drilled as infantry, the officers were ranked as infantry and artillery officers. Everything had been improvised in anticipation of the horses." While Stockton's men prepared harnesses out of rawhide, Beale was put in charge of rounding up the livestock.[15]

Meanwhile, the Californios located northwest of San Diego were also making preparation for their assault on San Diego. Relying on the few firsthand accounts of these activities, we know that on the November 22, 1846 Capain Andres Pico was ordered south to San Luis.[16] Captain Flores had received word that an expedition of Americans had been foraging for horses and cattle in the interior areas around San Diego, so he issued Pico orders "to proceed with a hundred men to San Luis"[17] in an attempt to cut off Stockton's men on their return trip. Captain Cota had also been given orders by Gen. Flores to cooperate with Pico. This plan was designed to crush the Stockton forces between the Pico's and Cota's Californio armies. However,

before the two captains had reached their rendezvous point the enemy, probably under Beale or Gillespie's command, had already returned to San Diego.[18] Pico was ordered to remain in the San Diego area, so Pico made his headquarters at San Luis Rey and Santa Margarita.

An interview with Don Juan Forester describes a council of war which took place at his Santa Margarita rancho: "preparations were then made to proceed to San Diego and retake it from the Americans. That expedition was under the command of Leonardo Cota and Jose Alipaz, who held a council of war under a sycamore tree still existing in front of my house here in Santa Margarita Ranch." This interview did not occur until 1878, and it now appears that Forester may not have been quite sure of the exact date or time of this event as he later states, "now that I come to think of it I believe the council of war held under the Aliso in my ranch was after they had learned of Gillespie having left San Diego." Forester states that Andres Pico "then came down and took command of the whole California force - This had previously been divided into two parties,"[19] with an original purpose of going into the San Diego area by different routes in order to cut off supplies to the American forces. After this encounter little information was recorded or is known of Pico's activities up to the date of 5 December, 1846.

CHAPTER II

KEARNY'S JOURNEY WEST
JUNE 5, 1846 TO DECEMBER 5,1846

Kearny began a 2,000 mile cross-country trek when President James K. Polk declared war against Mexico and ordered him to lead the armies of the West in conquest of the Mexican states, then known as New Mexico and California.[20] On April 30 Kearny left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas with 1,750 soldiers, and by August 18 he had seized Santa Fe, New Mexico without firing a shot.[21] Although the Mexican forces were twice his number, when Kearny approached them they retreated. A few miles outside of Santa Fe "the lieutenant governor, informing the general [Kearny] of Armijo's flight, and of his readiness to receive him in Santa Fe, and to extend to him the hospitalities of the city,"[22] undoubtedly caused Kearny to lower his guard. For it was this easy capture of Santa Fe that would later cause the overconfident Kearny to misjudge the Californios.

The effortless manner in which New Mexico was brought under American control was one of the major reasons Kearny decided to leave most of his troops in Santa Fe, starting his march to San Diego with just over 300 men. William Emory wrote on September 25,1846, "I received notice that the general was to march at 2 p.m., for California. His force consisted of 300 dragoons."[23] From the beginning Kearny's march was plagued with trouble. Dr. John S. Griffin wrote on September 25 that Mexican horse traders swindled Kearny with mules that were "devilish poor at that and that two had died on the first day."[24] He described as a "bad prospect for California to have the animals give out on the first day."[25] They soon realized there was not sufficient stock to last the duration of the trip, so three days later on September 29 "a grand trade in mules and horses" took place at a rancheria just below Zandia.[26] There the

scene looked more like a horse market than an army camp. With fresh mounts Kearny proceeded on the last 800 mile journey and toward his dubious encounter with Kit Carson.

Fourteen days outside of Santa Fe, Kearny and Kit Carson crossed paths. This encounter brought both good and bad fortune to Kearny's future, indeed, causing severe ramifications to the posterity of all those involved. Yet at the time it seemed a simple and fortuitous meeting for Kearny. Dr. Griffith described this encounter on the October 6 "some 8 or 9 men [the actual number of men was 15] came charging up to us with an Indian yell." This turned out to be "Kit Carson, the celebrated mountain man."[27] This meeting took place "below Socorro on the Rio Grande del Norte, where Carson had travelled 800 miles in thirty days; Kearny had travelled 150 miles in 11 days."[28] In other words, Carson's men travelled almost twice the distance every day compared to Kearny's dragoons. Kearny's slow progress was caused by his precious howitzers, and because Thomas Fitzpatrick, Kearny's guide up to that point, was unfamiliar with the Gila Route to California.

From Carson's subsequent statements to Senator Thomas Hart Benton it was revealed that Carson had heard on the trail of Kearny's approach and upon their meeting Carson "told them they were "too late - that California was conquered, and the U.S. flag had been raised in all parts of the country."[29] Although in August this information was true, it was now November and this information was false and misleading. In reply Kearny announced that he would go on to establish a civil government. Carson informed him that "a civil government was already established, with Colonel Fremont appointed Governor, to commence as soon as Colonel Fremont returned from the North, some time that very month [October]."[30] This information was also outdated and therefore false.

At this meeting Carson told Kearny that in August all of California had fallen easily to Fremont and Stockton and there was no opposition to American rule.[31] He also reported that "Stockton was engaged in organizing a civil government, and that Fremont was to be made Governor."[32] Having taken Santa Fe from the Mexican forces and now receiving this news of

California already flying the American flag, Kearny made a serious mistake. Confident that he could take California as easily as he took Sante Fe, he sent 200 of his dragoons back to Santa Fe. After much argument and under the threat of a court martial for Carson, Kearny finally persuaded Carson to return with him to California as his guide and for Thomas Fitzpatrick to continue on to Washington D.C. with the dispatches.[33]

Later Kearny would be accused of a military crime by Senator Benton, because in military or state communications it is a crime "for one officer to turn back the messenger of another."[34] This line of reasoning did not hold up in a military court nor in the halls of Congress. With the information available and the surrounding circumstances most historians agree that Kearny made the right decision to take the unwilling Carson as guide.

It was not until several weeks later that Carson and Kearny learned that everything Stockton had accomplished had been undone by the incompetent Gillespie, and that a sizeable portion of California was back under Californio control. Having Carson's report, obsolete since September 5 and by now filled with much erroneous information; Kearny believed he had more than ample forces to complete his mission. He decided to order 200 of his remaining 300 dragoons back to Santa Fe under the command of Major Sumner.[35] Kearny continued marching westward with Companies "C" and "D", the 100 residual Dragoons, and employing the reluctant Kit Carson as his guide.[36]

One burden greatly affecting both the strength and disposition of the army was the seemingly pointless hauling of two enormous howitzers on this wilderness journey.[37] Kearny stubbornly insisted on dragging them along without regard to their military value versus the unavoidable penalties. One only had to survey the number of dead and wounded at the end of Kearny's 2,000 mile trek to genuinely ascertain the price of his stubbornness. Observation of the troop's low morale and sense of utter exhaustion, combined with the worn-out livestock, portrays the ultimate sacrifice paid by these troops.

Finally on October 9, 1846, after the wagons had only made eleven and a half miles and "the teams came into camp 'blown' and staggering after their day's work,"[38] did Kearny determine to leave the wagons and send back for pack saddles. October tenth, eleventh, and twelfth were passed in camp waiting for the pack saddles.[39] On October 22, 1846 Emory finally wrote, "The howitzers came up at about nine o'clock, having, in the previous day's work, their shafts broken, and, indeed, everything that was possible to break about them."[40]

Unfortunately, Kearny decided to keep his 'precious' howitzers, to the detriment of his men for it sealed the fate of the dragoons and contributed heavily to their losses at San Pasqual.[41] William L. Perkins, author of Those Accursed Howitzers, stated that historians were divided on "why Kearny chose to keep the howitzers,"[42] for it was quite obvious that "anything with wheels would put a terrible drain on the animals"[43] and slow the Army of the West's progress considerably. Perkins, like many historians, believed that Kearny's intransigence in keeping the howitzers was caused by his "martinet, petty, and prideful personality." Perhaps he thought these guns gave his weary and ragged Dragoons the appearance of a strong military facade that they were, in fact, sorely lacking. Whatever his original reasons might have been, his guns at journey's end were useless and were never a deciding factor in the battle.[44]

It was the last part of the Army of the West's journey that would bring about the most difficult circumstances. Having to ride 500 miles down the canyons of the Gila River with no more than a bridle path and "over a very rough and barren country"[45] was one of the most arduous parts of the journey. Another entry from the journal of Captain Turner described the march as a constant state of toil and deprivation and even "anxious friends at home can form no idea of the trials and fatigue that we undergo each hour in the day - wading through streams, clambering over rocks and precipices or laboring through the valleys of streams where . . . . our animals sink up to their knees at almost every step."[46] After sixty miles of desert without water or food for the livestock, Kearny's bedraggled dragoons arrived half or nearly naked,

many without shoes. The date was 2 December 1846, their immediate destination: Warner's Ranch in the mountains northeast of San Diego. [47]

After many days of deprivation and hardship Emory described the Aqua Caliente valley: "the evergreen oak grew luxuriantly . . . . we saw what would even here be called large trees. Emerging from these we saw in the distance the beautiful valley of the Aqua Caliente."[48] Upon their arrival in the lush valley they shot and ate ten Mexican cattle, then proceeded to Warner's rancho.[49] While they were there "an Indian came in and told [them] that Pico was camped at San Pasqual.[50] Mr. Warner had been placed under arrest by American forces because he had been accused of leading American soldiers into an ambush. The real reason for his arrest was "lack of enthusiasm for the political party then in charge of the government of the United States [and because] he was in sympathy with the paisanos in their fight to preserve their lands."[51] After the men devoured a sheep at Warner's rancho, and quenched their thirst, they then sent for Edward Stokes at his rancho Santa Isabelle.[52] Stokes, an Englishman, told Kearny that he was a neutral. But he did agree "to carry a letter to Commodore Stockton at San Diego."[53] This letter contained Kearny's orders from the President of the United States to establish "a Civil government . . . . and secure order, peace, and quietness,"[54] and it requested Stockton's assistance in opening up communication with him as soon as possible. After being resupplied with more unbroken horses and mules on December 3, Kearny broke camp and marched thirteen and a half miles to the valley of the Rio Isabelle. Here Kearny's dragoons were well provisioned, courtesy of Stokes who had given orders to his majordomo Senor Bill to entertain the Army of the West.[55] They camped that night at Stokes's rancho, which was located forty miles from San Diego.[56] The Indians in the neighboring area offered to help Kearny, for many of them had a deep hatred for the Californios who had taken from them their land and freedom.[57] At Santa Isabelle Kearny and his men dined on the more refined larder of the Isabelle rancho.[58] Kearny, his officers, and Senor Bill generously drank from Stokes's reserve of wine.[59] This was probabably a once in a lifetime opportunity for Senor Bill to drink his fill of Stokes's wine. On

December 5, 1846, with a drunk Senor Bill as guide, who had to be held up by two dragoons, Kearny set off for Santa Maria.[60]

Back in San Diego on December 3, 1846 Rafael Machado had left the ranks of "Andres Pico and his 'Galgos'."[61] Acting on the advice of his family, Rafael had surrendered himself to Stockton.[62] While questioning Machado as to the size and location of Pico's lancers, a message arrived from Kearny. Whereupon Stockton ordered Gillespie that to take Rafael as guide and informer and proceed to Kearny's position with reinforcements.[63] Because of this strange turn of events the unfortunate young Rafael Machado would be known as a deserter to his people. Kearny rode to Santa Maria where he met up with Gillespie, his thirty seven men and the "four pounder 'Sutter' gun."[64]

CHAPTER III

The Battle of San Pasqual
November 1846 to 11 December 1846

Prior to December 5 Pico was ordered by General Flores, commondante of the Californio army, to move his lancers from Don Juan Forester's Santa Margarita Rancho to the Dominguez Rancho, and then later to the Rancho Soledad.[65] This rancho was about four leagues (approximately 12 miles) from San Diego.[66] It was here, according to Pablo Vejar, that Pico had received word from his sister, Mariquita, that Gillespie was riding into the northern mountains to meet with another group of Americans.[67] Prior to this message Pico had received information from an Indian scout that "Gillespie was on the move, bound for the Sierras."[68] Pico disbelieved his sister's account of an American army deep inside the interior meeting Gillespie's troop.[69] For his own reasons Pico preferred to believe that Gillespie was out to steal more livestock for the "starving gringos in Old Town."[70] But with the knowledge that his old adversary was within reach, Pico sent one part of his force to the El Cajon valley and the rest to San Pasqual to cut off any possibility of Gillespie's retreat.[71]

Pico's superior, General Flores, had also received word from Sonora of American military movement, and this would have been Kearny's movement towards San Diego.[72] The westward journey of Kearny's dragoons was a real mystery to Flores, for he could not understand how such a force could pass the vicinity of Pico and Cota without being seen.[73] Pico and his superiors were aware of a large American force in the surrounding mountains of San Diego. With Pico aware of that, we have to question why he did not explore this vital information more, and why did he not believe the confirming accounts given to him. Perhaps the civil government of California was not eager to confront American armies. Perhaps Pico had no

real desire to fight American forces. It is very probable that Pico was doing the best he could to avoid a direct confrontation for as long as possible with the United States. Also, the more aggressive Verlas was replaced with the milder Flores by the governing class of California. After the war, it was claimed by Botello, another contemporary, of Pico's who claims that Pico afterwards told him that "he had not wished to fight, but was forced to it by circumstances which made it impossible to do otherwise."[74] This attitude would show itself in further events leading up to and during the battle. It was to this battle that Pico now rode in company of Vejar and his 'Galgos'.[75]

They arrived at San Pasqual where they hoped to intercept Gillespie on his return to San Diego.[76] Their arrival on December 4 at San Pasqual was witnessed by a young Indian woman, Felicita, who remembered the event quite well. In an interview with Elizabeth J. Roberts, she stated "Mexican soldiers, riding beautiful horses, came through our valley quite often, and at last a company came and camped at our village. They took some of our huts, and we crowded into those that were left for it was the winter time"[77]

Once at San Pasqual, Pablo Vejar and Juan Bautista Moreno took charge of setting up Camp. Vejar thought it would be wise to assess their men, horses, and equipment to fairly estimate their fighting capabilities. A disagreement broke out between Vejar, who wanted to keep the horses close by, and Pico, who had turned the horses' care over to the Indians. These Indians had been watching Kearny's and Gillespie's movements without being instructed to do so.[78] This information was voluntarily passed on, by the Indians, to the Californios.

Although Pico had been moved into the San Diego area in response to reconnaissance information of American military movement along the Gila, by all evidence Pico was still unaware of Kearny's position until the night of December 5. "Mr. Osio, a California journalist stated that Pico had no idea of the proximity of Kearny when he camped for the night at San Pasqual."[79] Yet Vejar stated that the Indians who took care of the horses had told Pico on his arrival that "the Americans were at Rancho Santa Maria five or six leagues [approximately 18

miles] away on a steep rocky road. Vejar gave praise to these Indians for saving the lancers, for he claimed that "later it was learned that Pico was planning to surrender us." There seems to be some truth of this description of Pico's intent for by many accounts he had been reluctant to have a direct confrontation with the American military forces.

Upon hearing the news from these reliable Indians, Vejar advised Pico that they should make preparations for an attack. In response, Vejar states that Pico could not believe the Americans could "make it over the road bringing a cannon at night [and] that the road was worse than the Cuesta de Santa Ines (Hill of Saint Ines)." After Vejar pulled his watch as officer of the day he turned the duty over to Jose Alipas. About this time an Indian rushed into the camp and reported to Pico that Americans with cannon were approaching. When asked how big the army was, the Indian replied, "Que! Ustedes no valen nada; ellos son mas muchos (What ! You aren't worth anything; they are much more)." After this report and much argument with a reluctant Pico, Vejar and Juan Lobo retrieved the horses the Indians had put in a hidden spot.

At this time a dog barked from the direction of the enemy camp, and Vejar gave the call " to arms! to his company, and Moreno did likewise." After a quick inspection, Vejar discovered that three of his men had no cartridges, and he went to Pico and requested ammunition. Pico refused, and it was not until Vejar threatened "to take it by force, that Pico gave some to him." Here again Pico showed reluctance in taking strong action and in his decision-making which impaired the lancers' battle-preparedness.

A patrol was finally sent out, and at the "foot of a grade they found a bundle of very good blankets." This was proof that their location was known to the enemy. Vejar claimed that as the horses arrived Pico was still indecisive, because he gave his men orders not to mount up. This was very disturbing to the lancers, for though they were trained effectively with the lance, their greatest skill was horsemanship; they were not professionally trained killers. Vejar gave the order for battle, later saying that Pico gave no orders, which left Vejar to do everything. As the enemy was spotted five to six hundred yards away, a pistol shot was fired and

the "order was, Al Centro, un tiro, y a la lanza (To the center, one shot and the lance)."[80] Still, with all the warnings, Pico and his men were barely mounted when the battle was engaged.

To say that Kearny had been poorly advised would be a gross understatement. Gillespie's original prejudice against Mexicans only increased after his humiliating disaster in Los Angeles. As Kearny made his plans, it would be advisable to consider the factors that affected his decisions. First, Kearny had already taken an entire Mexican province without firing a shot. Second, he had fought a Mexican army, not the skilled lancers of California. Third, as the Mexican army was twice his number, he allowed these misleading events to bolster his personal image of his own military success and impair his future judgements. Fourth, Carson, his guide and advisor, had little respect for the Californios as fighters, for he described them as having a "holy horror of the American rifle and would never expose themselves to make an attack."[81] Add to this the hispanophobia of his adviser Gillespie and there is potential ingredients for a slaughter. Kearny was also in need of good horses for a prolonged campaign could take him to many parts of California. Kearny's horses were in the poorest possible condition. Carson was quoted by Charles L. Camp as saying that "the chief objective [for Kearny] was to the California animals." Another factor was the wine that circulated among the officers[82] at Rancho Isabelle the night of December 5. After 800 miles of desert and deprivation, it would only be natural for Kearny's men to fill canteens and jugs to provision themselves against the cold, dreary weather.[83] Though there is no proof that anyone was drunk on the evening and morning of the fifth when plans were being made for battle it is not unreasonable to presume that wine was present at Kearny's camp. This could have impaired Kearny's judgement regarding the condition of his men. In a message from Stockton, Kearny was advised to "beat up"[84] their camp, but after Lieutenant Edward F. Beale and Phillip Crosthwaite saw the starved condition of Kearny's men, they advised him to take the road to San Diego by way of Lakeside, Rancho El Cajon and Mission Valley.[85] But with Stockton and Fremont's claims to a civil government and governorship, Kearny was also determined to show his presence by a military victory. Judge

Hayes believed if Kearny had waited and "appeared in open daylight and in a compact force, San Pasqual might have had as happy a result as that of Cahuenga, without striking a blow."[86] Like Pico, Kearny refused to take the counsel of his cautious subordinates[87]

Determined to fight, Kearny sent Lieutenant Hammond, Raphael Machado and several dragoons to survey the position and strength of the enemy."[88] During the night at 11:00 P.M., Hammond descended the mountains to San Pasqual. The noise from his saber alerted a camp dog, and when the reconnaissance team arrived it was hailed by the lancer's camp with Quien Vive (who's there). The rain had been pouring down all night but it ceased when a cold and chilling wind blew down from the Sierras.[89]

Pico's lancers, on fresh mounts, were considered the best horsemen in the world.[90] They were well acquainted with the lay of the land and were armed with six to eight-foot-long razor-sharp lances with blades "nine to ten inches in length and one-half inch in width at the base;" each of these blades bore, a "gay, red, white and green pennon, fastened at their base."[91] With lances raised upright, these lancers stood ready to defend themselves, their families and their homes.

On the other side of the battlefield, high upon a "hog-backed ridge, was the Army of the West," half starved men who were weary and fatigued beyond comprehension.[92] The dragoons, cold, stiff, and wet from sleeping outside in the rain, were mostly mounted on worn-out unbroken mules, and the dragoons' arms and ammunition were rain-soaked from the torrential downpour of the previous night.[93] Gillespie describes the men as "sadly in want of clothing."[94] Yet Kearny would have his battle, his horses, his glory and his contentious military victory in California.

The first to die was Captain Abraham R. Johnston, who led the charge down the mountain with his guard behind him in double file.[95] Behind them came General Kearny, Lieutenant Emory and a guard of fifty dragoons, who were mounted on mules. The noise from their sabers and equipment destroyed all hopes of a surprise attack.[96] Gillespie with the

"Sutter Gun" and the best of mounts was ordered to the left rear flank to help guard the baggage train.[97] A mile behind the frontal assault, this baggage train was under the command of Major Thomas Swords, with a guard of fifty dragoons.[98] When the order to trot was given, it was believed that Johnson mistook it for charge, and galloped far ahead of the rest of Kearny's company. He received a bullet in his forehead from the gun of Leandro Osuna in the first volley of fire from the lancers.[99] Johnson's advanced charge was most unfortunate, for when Pico saw the number of Johnson's advance guard he mistook the size of Kearny's army. Had Pico been confronted by Kearny's entire force it is believed he would have withdrawn, being content in just harassing the Army of the West by short dashes and driving away their livestock. As the Army of the West strung itself out in a vulnerable, extended line, the action was being mentally recorded on the hillside by a young Indian girl named Felicita[100].

When the Indians heard the clang of sabers and the rattle of equipment from the direction of Santa Maria, they "ran out of their huts to find the cause." Through the low-lying fog Felicita saw "soldiers wearing coats of blue. The Mexican soldiers were sitting on their horses holding their long lances . . . . they now rode swiftly to meet the soldiers in blue."In great fear the Indians escaped to the mountains where they watched the battle "behind brush and weeds."[101] As the Indians ran to the mountains, Pico's camp was somewhat in disarray. As Johnston fell, Captian Benjamin D. Moore took the lead. He thought the lancers were in retreat so he ordered a second charge. This charge led him face to face with Pico and his guard. He was able to get off one shot and was then lanced off his horse by Leandro Osuna. Captian Moore was then slain with a bullet from the gun of Thomas Sanchez.[102] For years after this battle Moore would be posthumously praised by the Californios for his gallant bravery. They called him "valiento Morin (valiant Moore)." When Hammond saw Moore fall, he tried desperately to come to his brother-in-law's aid, only to be mortally wounded by the same razor-sharp lance of Osuna. When the Californios saw Gillespie, the ruthless leader of martial law, a cry of "¡Aqui esta Gillespie!, ¡Adelante!, ¡Matale!, ¡Matale!, ¡Aqui esta Gillespie! (Here is Gillespie!,

Forward!, Kill him! Kill him! Here is Gillespie!") went up. Then a charge of eager lancers did their best to sink their lances into the man they knew well.[103] Gillespie received a lance wound in the face cutting his mouth and breaking a tooth, in the neck, and one through a lung. The lancers left Gillespie for dead and went after his horse and prize saddle.[104] As the battle moved on, Gillespie was able to retreat behind the American lines, where he managed to get off a load of grapeshot from the "Sutter gun". This shot he claimed later is what turned the tide and caused the lancers to flee.[105]

General Kearny was wounded in his arm and in his buttocks. William Burden Dunne said that many of the men felt "that it would have been better if they killed him." His men felt he was responsible for the disgracfull fiasco, for if he had waited till daylight" they would have seen how to defend themselves." These men said their fingers were so doubled up from cold that they were unable to use their fire-arms, "except for the officers who were well penetrated with the strength of Santa Maria wine."[106]

In the half-light of the battle, Vejar drew attention to himself by shouting orders to his companions in Spanish. Vejar was soon surrounded by dragoons. He tried to evade them, and in doing so his horse stepped into a gopher hole, broke stride, and Vejar fell from his mount. This caught the attention of four dragoons who fired upon him but missed. One man fired again and missed, but this shot caused his horse to move enough for Vejar to pull his leg out from underneath his horse. To gain his feet Vejar had to use his lance as a crutch. One of the frustrated men said "Damn You!" took aim and tried to shoot him, but the pistol did not fire. After these numerous attempts to shoot Vejar, he was finally informed by Philip Crosthwaite that he was a prisoner.[107] When Vejar delivered up his bloody lance he thought his fate was sealed, for a half-breed named Patitoux looked at it, raised his gun and would have shot Vejar if not for the protest of Philip Crosthwaite. The indignant Crosthwaite informed Patitoux that Americans did not kill their prisoners.[108] Later Vejar, the only prisoner, was questioned as to the number of killed and wounded. His description of this interrogation, with Gillespie

badgering him and Dr. Griffin supplying numbers, seemes to suggest that the Americans were trying to get a false number for the official records in order to justify their actions. " Why don't you tell the truth ten died and thirty were wounded,"[109] when they knew that Vejar had been taken prisoner during the battle, and could not know the exact numbers.

Not all of the Californios were as eager for battle as Vejar. As mentioned earlier, some Californios had mixed feelings and thought it wiser not to get involved in a meaningless conflict. One of these unwilling participants was Jose Antonio Serrano. Serrano came to battle armed only with his reata. When the battle broke out, Serrano was "at the rancheria of Panto the Indian leader for the San Pasqual Indians." Removed from the center of battle Serrano stated that he saw three Americans in the Indian village "lead Francisco Lara away from one of the Indian huts . . . . two Americans rode away, leaving Lara in the charge of the third who shot the youth then rode off." Lara, a young man, was terrified of the battle and had decided to stay in the Indian village. Because he was the only mortality on the Mexican side this version is highly contested. Later it was claimed, common knowledge, that some Indians that were with the Americans had killed Lara.[110] Because of the confusion on the battlefield, little else but these explanations are known about the only death on the Californios side.

The crippled army of Kearny was now in possession of the field. By order of Kearny, the men gathered and lashed the dead to the mules that were left, in preparation to march Kearny's wounds became so serious that Captain Turner had to assume command for a short period of time, while Kearny's wounds were being cared for by Dr. Griffin. After regrouping, the weary dragoons discovered there were not enough mules left to carry all of the dead, and it was decided to bury the dead on the battlefield that night in secret. Kearny sent Alexis Godey, Thomas Burgess and another volunteer to Stockton for reinforcments. Reduced in their number by a third, the "Army of the West" made a forced march off the battlefield under the constant harrassment of Pico and his lancers. On the way, Kearny and his dragoons rested at Rancho San Bernardo, and gathered some chickens for the sick to eat. They continued the march until

confronted by lancers on a rocky hill which blocked their advance. They gained the hill and safety, but in climbing the hill they lost their livestock. On December 8 Pico came forward under a flag of truce and exchanged his prisoners Godey and Burgess for Vejar. Both Godey and Burgess had been captured on their return trip.[111] Godey's news was not helpful, for Stockton had no spare horses for a relief party. That night Kearny sent Lieutenant Edward Beale, Carson, and an Indian to gain assistance from Stockton.[112] Three miserable nights were spent on this hill which was renamed Mule Hill after the principle diet of its occupants. Vejar, a prisoner during some of this time, went hungry, for he refused to eat the flesh of a mule. On December 10, Kearny in desperation, burned all of the army's baggage,for a possible rapid march. [113]

Finally, on the morning of December 11, Kearny was rescued by Lieutenant Gray and 200 marines and tars (sailors).[114] Christopher Jaret, a marine under Gray described Kearny's position as "surrender or be annihilated." Jaret described Kearny's camp as a "sad sight indeed [there was] no water except what little muddy water they caught in holes dug for that purpose- although a nice stream ran at the base of the hill" Jaret continued, "so closely did the cordon of the enemy draw around them that no man dared to venture to that little stream,"[115] as death would be their measure.

If not for this relief from Stockton, Kearny would have met death or been sent to Mexico in chains. It was an auspicious turn of events for Kearny when Stockton decided to regroup from Gillespie's debacle in San Diego instead of Monterey.

By all accounts the initial battlefield was a mixture of men in utter confusion. There were no regular lines, trenches or fixed positions.[116] The entire battle only lasted fifteen minutes and in these few minutes it was obvious that wet cartridges and four-foot-long dull sabers were no match for the longer razor sharp lances of the Californios.[117] At the end of the battle, out of twenty dead and nineteen wounded only one death and one wound was caused by gunfire." With a total of thirty-nine dead or wounded each body had an average of three wounds.[118]

Eighty percent of the American forces engaged in the actual battlewere either dead or wounded.[119] With the rest of the American forces approaching, the lancers decided to leave the battlefield that was littered with American casualties. Most historians agree that when the Californios left the field to the Americans, they lost claim to the victory. Another point, most historians believe, is that had the lancers so desired, they could have annihilated the entire Army of the West.[120] Most authorities also agree that the death toll could have been much higher , but for Castilian chivalry which stayed the hand of the lancer.[121] It was reported that when Pico saw an American wounded he "called upon his men to spare the life of the wounded soldier."[122] At the end of the war both Kearny and Gillespie sought out individual lancers who had spared their lives.[123] The chivalry of the Castilian culture was even hailed in the halls of Congress when Senator Benton praised Pico for his humanitarian actions during the battle, his care of the prisoners under his control, and for the fresh supplies he sent under a flag of truce to his old adversary Gillespie.[124]

The controversy continues over who won the battle. We must consider the factual information presented. First, the battle was not strategically necessary, due to the fact there was another route available to Kearny. Second, there were a number of motivating factors for the battle: one factor was the insatiable desire for revenge on the part of Gillespie; another factor was Carson's low opinion of the lancers' fighting capabilities. Most important was Kearny's greed for the prized horses the lancers rode upon, for Carson continued to urge Kearny "that it was a good opportunity to supply themselves with fresh horses.[125]

Finally, scholars need to consider if anyone was victorious at San Pasqual. It was not necessary for Kearny to charge into the deadly lances with men who were half-starved and physically wasted from a 2000 mile journey.[126] Then, it was absurd for Kearny to still claim victory while positioned in the battlefield surrounded by dead, dying and wounded men. There was no claim to victory for the proud lancers when they faded into the landscape, losing their dignity, their lands, and their rich culture.

In conclusion, historians and scholars must consider the price of victory bought and purchased with the blood of subdued, worn and weary soldiers, when the peaceful alternative of negotiation could have been achieved.

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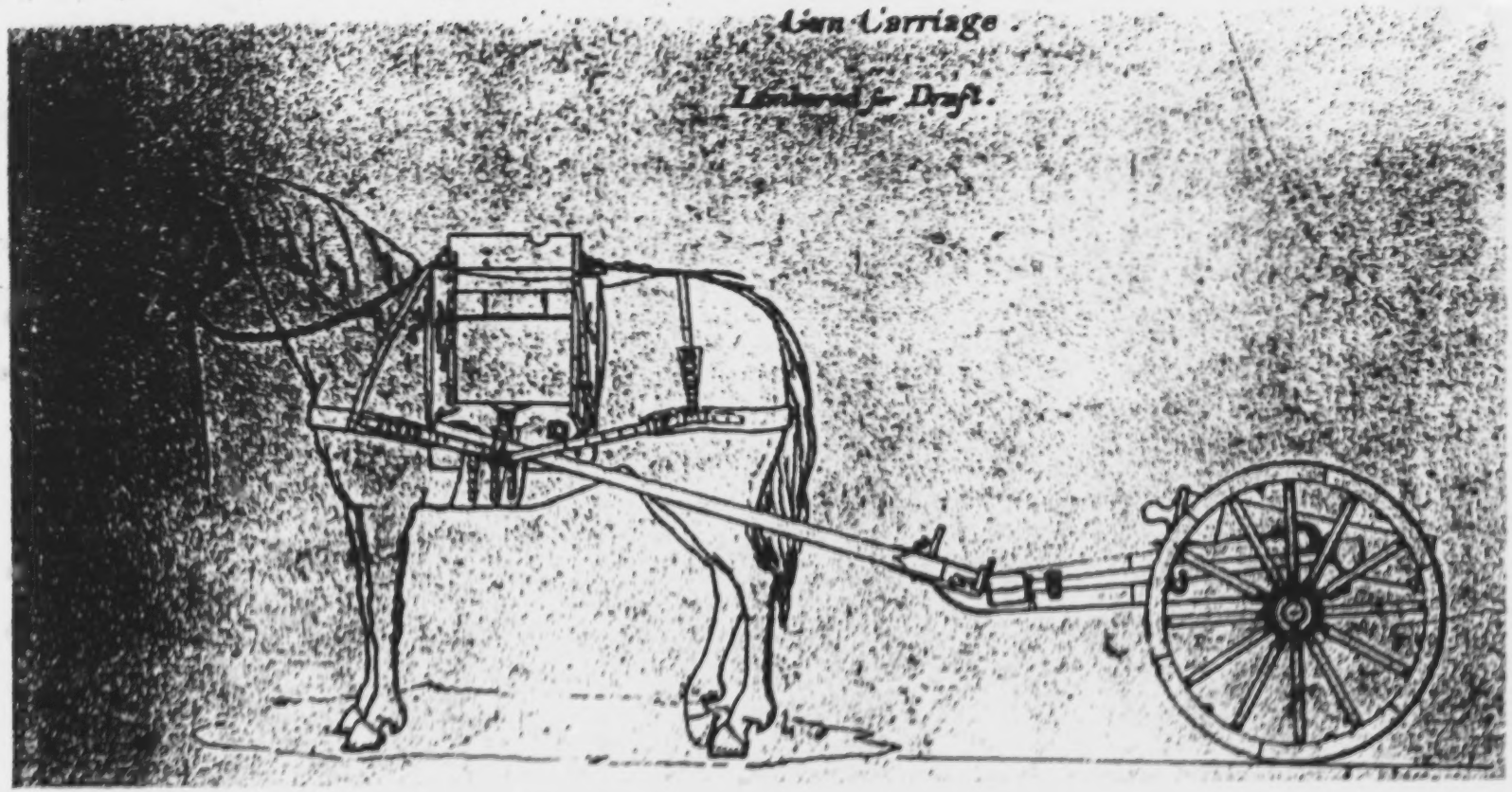

124 TWELVE-POUND BRONZE MOUNTAIN HOWITZER 125

Type used by General Kearny in 1846

Photograph supplied by U. S. Ordnance Department

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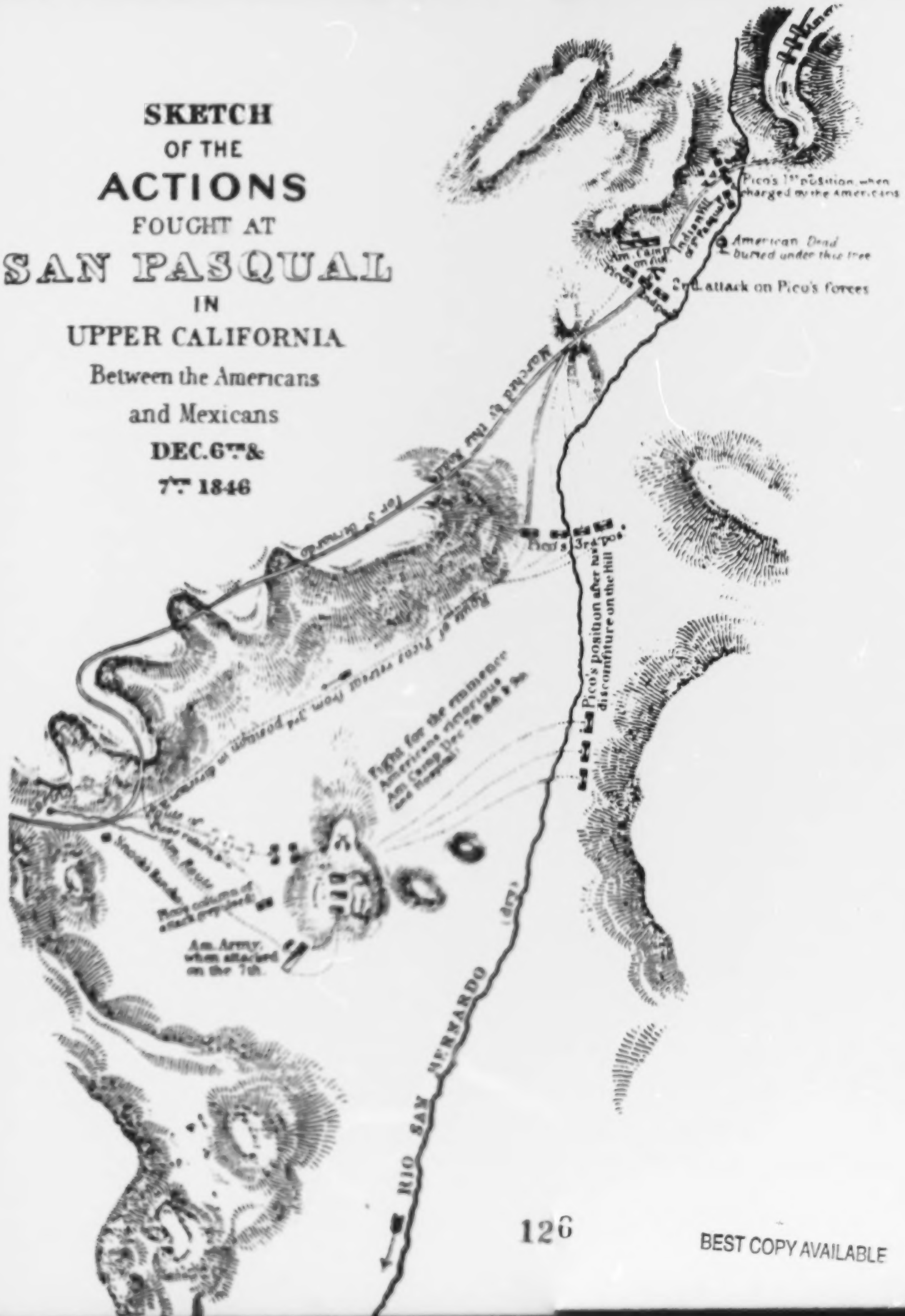

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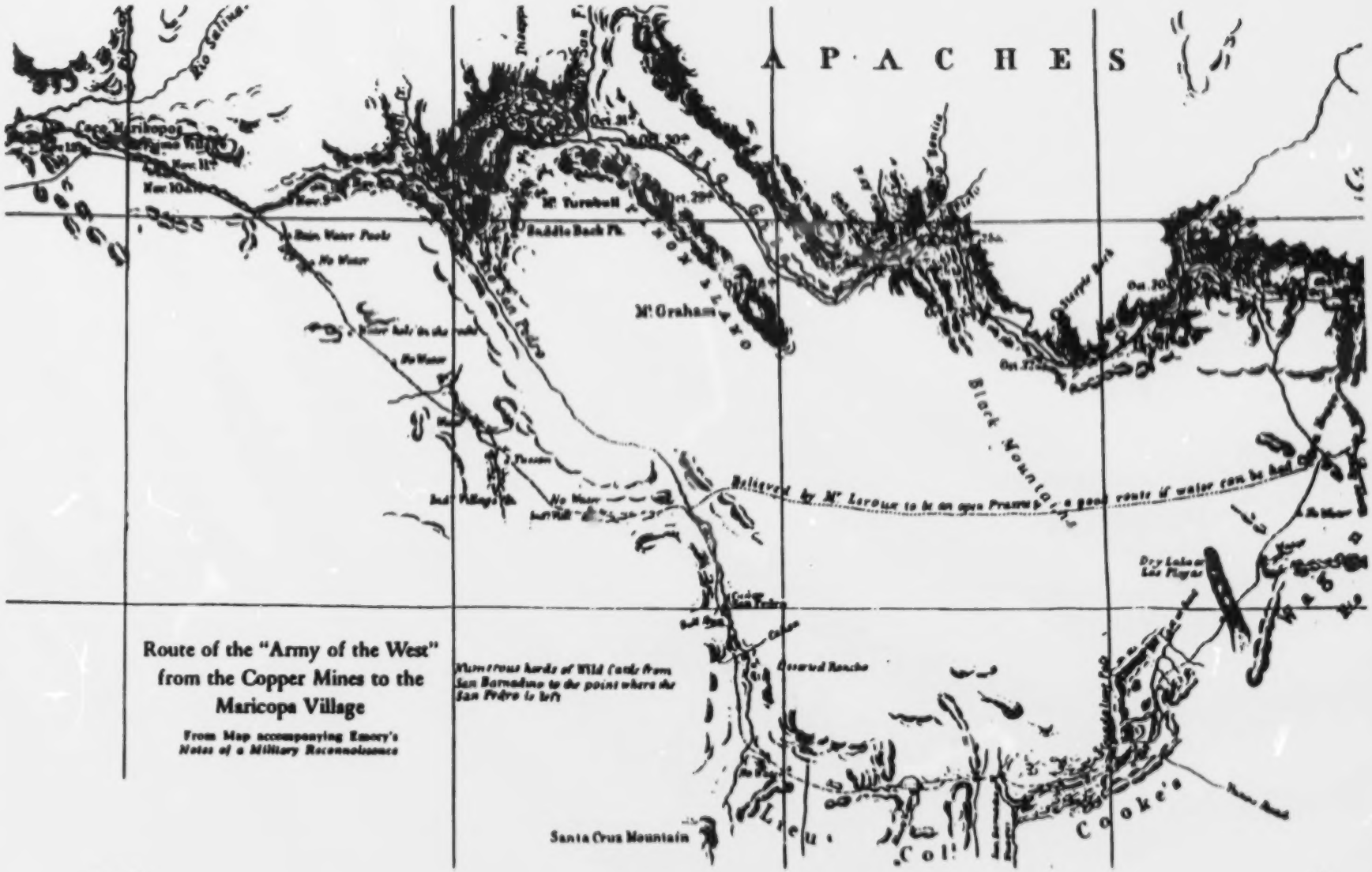

Route of the "Army of the West" from the Copper Mines to the Maricopa Village

From Map accompanying Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*

Numerous herds of Wild Cattle from San Bernadino to the point where the San Pedro is left

127

128

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Route of the "Army of the West" from Santa Fe to the Copper Mines

From Map accompanying William H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, 30th Cong., 1st sess., S. Exec. Doc. 7 (1848).

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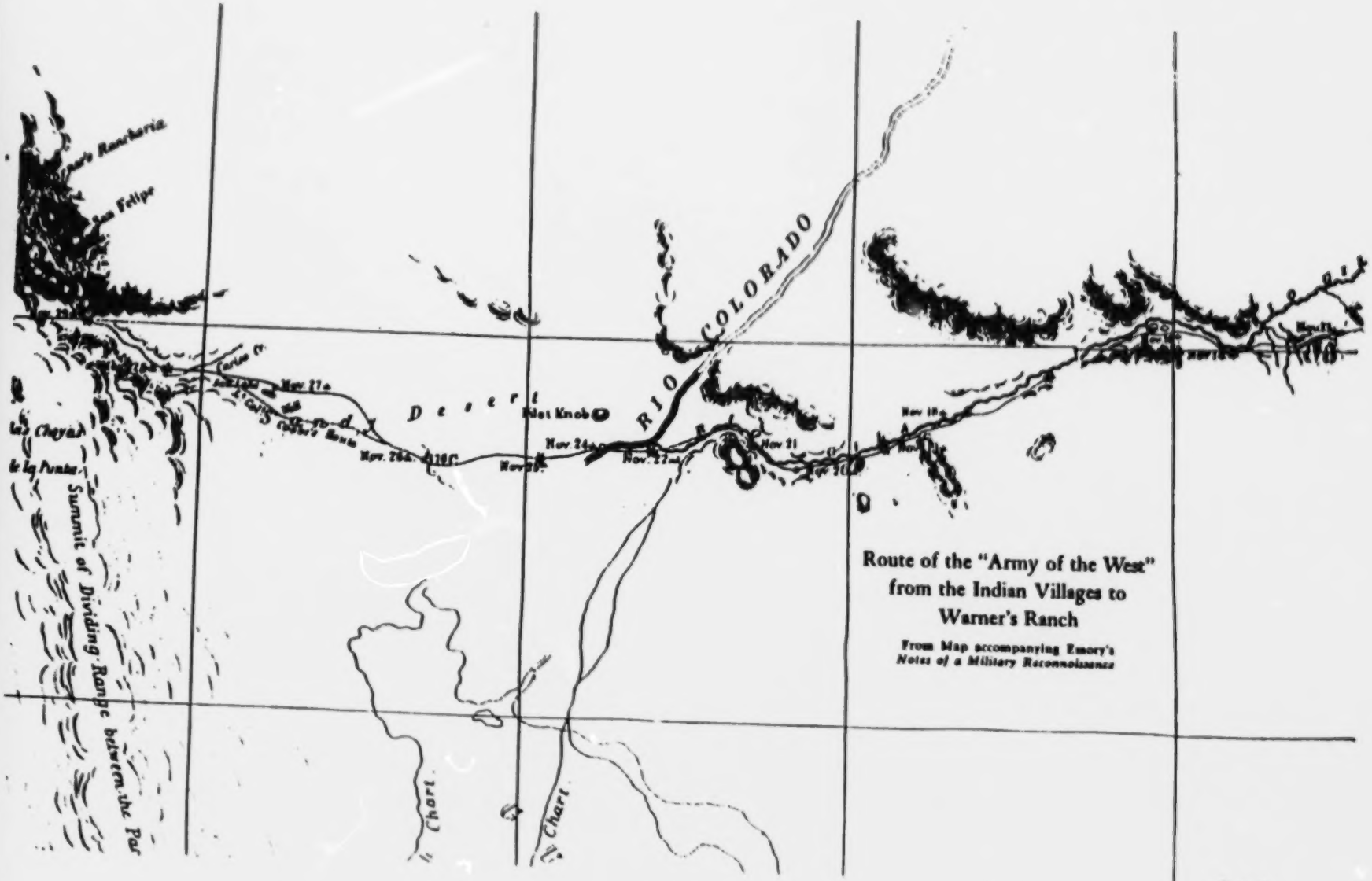

Route of the "Army of the West" from the Indian Villages to Warner's Ranch

From Map accompanying Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*

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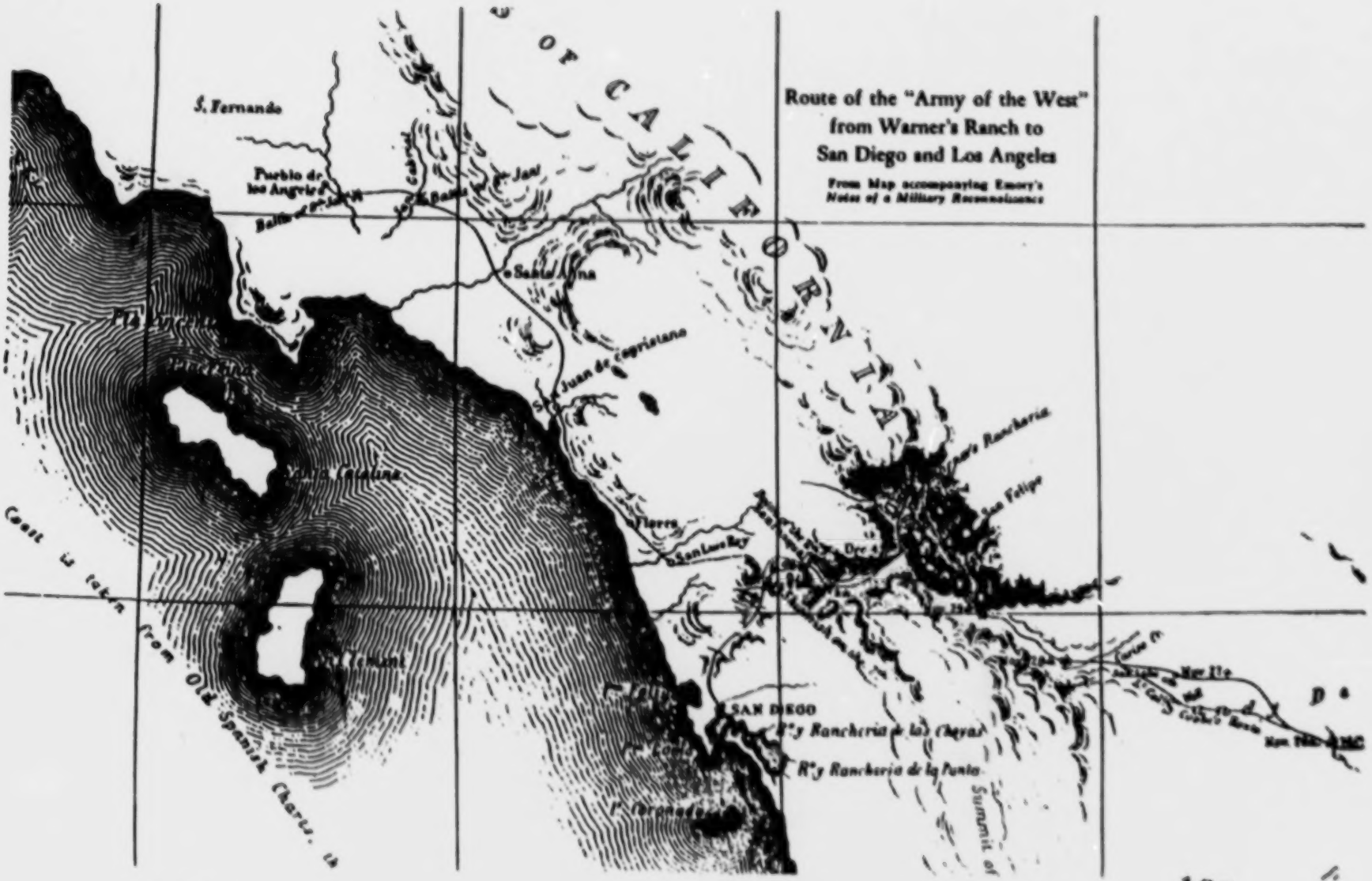

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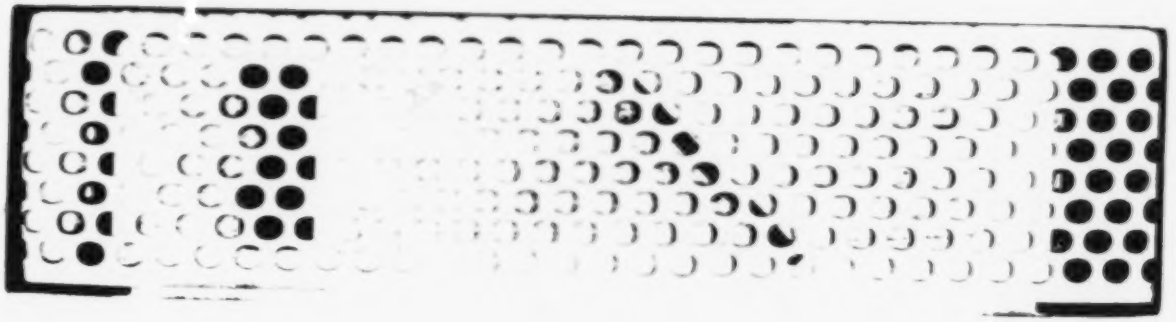
San Pasqual Battlefield State Historic Park



THE HISTORIC PARK

The purpose of the San Pasqual Battlefield State Historic Park is to honor those who participated in the battle between the United States forces and the Californio forces on December 6, 1846; to set straight the facts surrounding the battle; to fairly represent both sides involved; to tell the story of the Native Americans in the valley at that time and to relate the history of the valley since 1870.

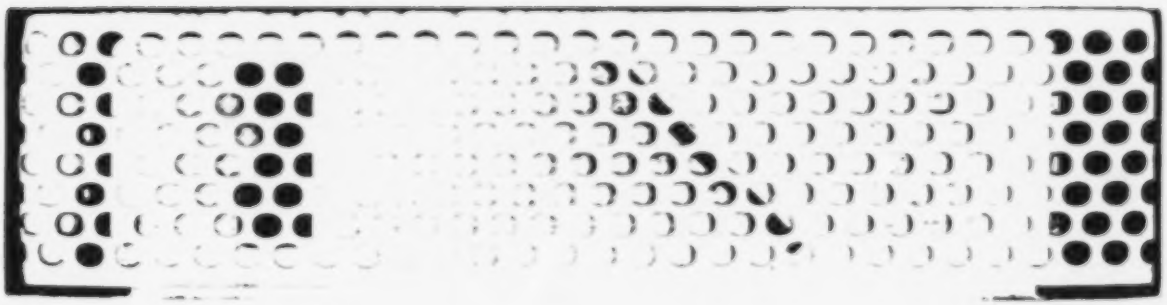
The Visitor Center/Museum serves as an information center for the battle, the valley and the California State Park System.

The San Pasqual Battlefield Volunteers Association sells educational and interpretive materials, conducts tours of the facility, gives talks by reservation and stages living history programs. Membership in the Volunteers is open to all.

Location: 8 miles east of Escondido on Highway 78

Hours of operation: Friday through Sunday, 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.
Closed Monday through Thursday

Address & Phone:
15808 San Pasqual Valley Road
Escondido, CA 92025
(619) 489-0076 or 220-5430



THE BATTLE OF SAN PASQUAL

The Battle of San Pasqual took place on December 6, 1846 between United States forces led by Brigadier General Stephen W. Kearny and Californios led by Major Andres Pico. This battle was only one of the military encounters in California in the Mexican-American War but it proved to be the bloodiest and most controversial as to its outcome.

To conquer California for the United States, the Army of the West had marched in June, 1846 from Fort Leavenworth, in what is now Kansas, across the southern desert where they endured the lack of water, lack of food and poor condition of their cavalry mounts.

A few days out of Santa Fe, in what is now New Mexico, Brigadier General Kearny received erroneous word that California was in American hands and all was secure on the Pacific Coast.

Because of this misinformation, he sent two-thirds of his men back to Santa Fe and continued westward with a force of 100 men. The western scout Kit Carson was pressed into service as a guide for the army troops as they progressed onward.

The journey across the barren desert took its toll of the men and their mounts. When they finally encamped at Santa Maria (now Ramona) on the night of December 5, 1846, they were hungry, exhausted and stiff from the cold and rain.

Nearby, a Californio force, led on a scouting mission by Major Andres Pico, had encamped at the Native American pueblo of San Pasqual. News of the Californios' presence was brought to Brigadier General Kearny who sent a nighttime reconnaissance patrol to investigate the Californios' camp. Unfortunately the presence of the patrol became known because of noises it made. Alerted to the possibility of attack, the Californios prepared for battle.

At dawn on a cold rainy December 6th, the U.S. troops rode over the hills between Santa Maria (now Ramona) and San Pasqual to face the Californios in the valley below.

In the resulting battle, the Californios' lances proved to be an overwhelming advantage over the U.S. troops' short swords and rifles with dampened gunpowder. Eighteen soldiers were killed during the battle; four others died later of wounds. Only one Californio is known to have been killed.

That night, the U.S. forces buried their dead, bound up their wounded then tried to continue to San Diego the next morning. They were stopped just past the San Bernardo Rancho at what came to be called Mule Hill (just above Lake Hodges). There they were besieged by the Californios until the morning of December 11th when additional troops arrived from San Diego to rescue them. The Californios departed when they sighted the U.S. relief column.

The Army of the West, wounded and bedraggled, finally reached San Diego on December 12th.

PARTICIPANTS

California State Parks, San Pasqual Historic Park Staff
Edward Navarro, District Superintendent, SD Coast District
Victoria Lang, Superintendent, SD Coast Historic Parks
Kitzi Wiseman, State Park Ranger I, San Pasqual Battlefield
Ben Martin and Dave La Torre, Maintenance Worker, San Pasqual

San Pasqual Battlefield Volunteer Association
Tom Cook, President
Larry E. Ross, Jr., Military Events Coordinator
Nan Gamble, Civilian Events Coordinator
Ed Thorn, Publicity

San Pasqual Band of Mission Indians
Perry Owens, Representative

California Display
Joseph Lopez, Western Artist

Indian Display
San Pasqual Band of Mission Indians

Military Encampment
Co. K, 1st U.S. Army Dragoons, San Pasqual Battlefield
Co. D, U.S. Army Infantry, Old Town San Diego
Co. C, U.S. Army Dragoons, Old Town San Diego

Civilians and Crafts
Members of the San Pasqual Battlefield Volunteer Association
Ann Uhr, Craft Coordinator
Kumeyaay/Pai Pai Basket Weaver & Singer - J.R. Kingsey Rep.
Bullet Molding - Nick Bushirk

Food Service
Cali-Mex Markets - Escondido, Marie Brandon
Hard Tack, Jerky, Sarsparilla - San Pasqual Battlefield Assoc.

"Spoon and Shines" Production
Bruce Dreilinger
Kathi Williamson

SPECIAL THANKS

The above participants are volunteers. Thanks for your time and effort to make this Living History Day a success.

Thank you to the San Pasqual Union Elementary School for allowing us to utilize their lots for parking.

Thank you to the Wittman Ranch for allowing access through their property for the Military Exercises.

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

10:00 - OPENING CEREMONIES

10:15 - CANNON DRILL (AMPHITHEATER)

11:00 - KUMEYAAY SONGS (AMPHITHEATER)

11:30 - BULLET MOLDING

12:00 - BREAK (LUNCH)
TAKE THIS TIME TO VISIT THE OTHER ACTIVITIES.

1:00 - "SPOON AND SHINES" MOUNTAIN MAN LIVING HISTORY PROGRAM (AMPHITHEATER)

2:00 - MILITARY DRILL / BULLET MOLDING

2:30 - CANNON DRILL (AMPHITHEATER)

3:00 - KUMEYAAY SONGS (AMPHITHEATER)

3:30 - CLOSING

Affix Participation Stamp Here

PARK HISTORY

A brief but bloody battle raged through this valley one cold December morning in 1846, part of a war between the United States and Mexico, now almost forgotten. This place has been set aside not as a monument to war, but as a reminder of the human ideals, actions and passions that drive nations to bloodshed. Here you can learn what led to the Battle of San Pasqual, the events of the wintry day, and why some quarrels still endure.

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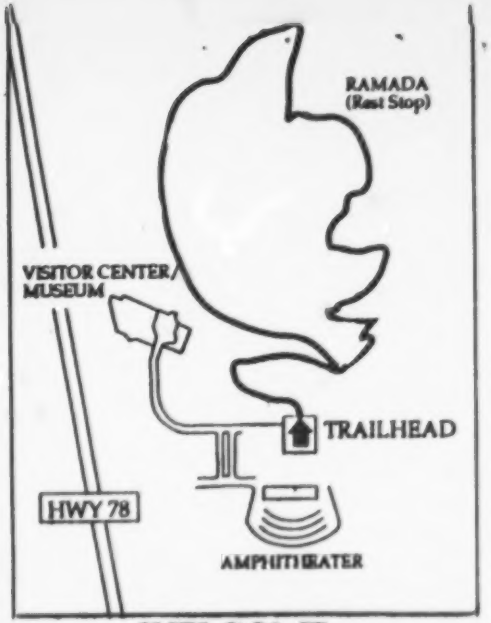
The video reflects the activities inside this program

LIVING HISTORY DAY 1995

SAN PASQUAL BATTLEFIELD STATE HISTORIC PARK



- WELCOME -

The California Department of Parks and Recreation and the San Pasqual Battlefield Volunteer Association (SPBVA) welcomes you to Living History Day 1995. Take this opportunity to observe various aspects of early 1800's California History. Please stop at the various locations indicated in this brochure to fully enjoy your visit. If you choose, you may have the location checked off and after completing 4 stops get a stamp of completion. **The SPBVA is a non-profit organization and any donations would be greatly appreciated.**

San Pasqual Battlefield Volunteer Association
15808 San Pasqual Valley Road
Escondido, CA 92025

State of California
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION

ACTIVITIES

1. Hard Tack ☒ (menu)
[redacted] sample a piece of Hard Tack. Hard Tack was the staple carried by the Dragoons and Infantry on their journey west to San Pasqual. It was usually added to their meals as a filler. *Be Careful, Hard Tack is very hard so don't bite it!*

2. Cornhusk Dolls ☒
Join Park Aid Ann Ulm in making a doll from Corn Husks. Enjoy the simplicity of the toys of the pioneers and indians of this period.

3. Weavers and Potters ☒
See Kumeyaay and Pai Pai baskets and pots being made by artisans including Gloria Castaneda and Celia Silva. The Kumeyaay indians were indigenous to the San Pasqual Valley during this period.

4. Cannon Drill * ☒
"Prick and Prime", "Worm the Bore", and "Thumb the Vent" are a few of the terms you will learn as you watch the SPBVA Cannon Crew demonstrate the proper firing procedure of an 1841 Mountain Howitzer.

5. Military Encampment ☒
Wander up to the small military encampment. Experience the spartan conditions under which the soldiers of the Army of the West lived during their journey.

6. Kumeyaay Songs * ☒
Kumeyaay Gloria Castaneda will share traditional songs.

7. Bullet Molding * ☒
Join craftsman Nick Buskirk as he demonstrates how to make musket balls. This technique used in the field utilized molds and molten lead. Due to the potential fire hazard in the Park, electric heat will be used.

8. Historical Characters ☒
Take the time to stop and talk to one of the volunteers dressed in period attire. Ask them about their clothing and their role in the history of the period.

9. Museum and Bookstore ☒ - not on video
Visit the San Pasqual Battlefield Museum. For those of you interested in learning more details about the Battle of San Pasqual as well as the people of the area before and after the battle, the museum offers several exhibits and a 10 minute video presentation. The Museum Bookstore has an excellent collection of literature revolving around the Mexican/American War and the history of California.

10. "Spoon and Shines" Living History Production ☐
This is a dramatic play that generates an interest in and understanding of America's early 19th century explorers and their relationship with Native Peoples. Using stories and guitar-accompanied sing-alongs, Mountain Man Burnt Spoon and his wife, Shines Like the Sun, cover historical, cultural and ecological concepts, emphasizing the value of Native American contributions. Demonstrating authentic frontier skills like fire-starting with a wood bow, making soap from a plant, and sign language, their characters present a new perspective of America's western history to all ages. not on video

* Individual event times are posted on the master schedule available at the membership table.

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1995 CALENDAR OF EVENTS

DAY	DATE	EVENT
Thursday	July 27	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic - Joaquin Murietta; Leader- Jim Caldwe..
Saturday & Sunday	August TBA	SAN PASQUAL FIESTA San Pasqual Indian Reservation
Thursday	August 24	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic TBA; Leader - Carol Wallace
TBA	September TBA	VOLUNTEER RECOGNITION DINNER
Saturday	September TBA	LECTURE - Location & Topic TBA
Thursday	September 21	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic TBA; Leader - Bruce Leonard
Saturday	October 7	FIELD TRIP - Mule Hill
Tuesday	October 17	FIELD TRIP - Command Museum Marine Corps Recruit Depot, San Diego
Thursday	October 26	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic - Life of George Armstrong Custer Leader - Ken Wiesemann
Saturday	November 4	ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING - 11 AM Location TBA
Saturday	November 11	MEMORIAL SERVICE - 11 AM Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, San Diego
Thursday	November 16	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic - Battle at Little Big Horn Leader - Joe Weseloh
Sunday	December 3	**REENACTMENT - 10 AM** **San Pasqual Battlefield St. Historic Park**

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BOARD MEETING	3RD FRIDAY OF EACH MONTH - 10 AM Joslyn Senior Center, Escondido
BULK MAILING	LAST MONDAY OF EACH MONTH - 10 AM
BATTLELINES	CUTOFF DATE FOR SUBMITTING ARTICLES: Jan. 3, Apr. 3, July 3, Oct. 2

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* DETAILED INFORMATION WILL BE MAILED PRIOR TO EACH SCHEDULED EVENT. *

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SAN PASQUAL BATTLEFIELD STATE
HISTORIC PARK

1995 CALENDAR OF EVENTS

DAY	DATE	EVENT
Tuesday	January 24	FIELD TRIP - Old Town, San Diego
Thursday	January 26	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Joslyn Senior Center, Escondido Topic & Leader TBA
Thursday	February 23	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic - SPBVA Library; Leader - Ron Hinrichs
Tuesday	March 21	FIELD TRIP - Bowers Museum, Santa Anna
Thursday	March 23	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic - Early Women of North SD County Leader - Shirley Buskirk
Saturday	March 25	FLOWER WALK - 10 AM Leader - Jim Dillane San Pasqual Battlefield St. Historic Park
Monday	April 3	MEMBERSHIP DINNER MEETING - 6:30 PM Sizzler, Escondido Program TBA
Thursday	April 27	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic - Golden Images; Leader - Joe Wesson
Saturday	April 29	TRAIL DAY - 10 AM San Pasqual Battlefield St. Historic Park
Sunday	May 21	LIVING HISTORY DAY - 10 AM San Pasqual Battlefield St. Historic Park
Thursday	May 25	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic - They Saw the Elephant Leader - Nan Gentile
Friday	June 16	AN EVENING AT THE PARK - 5:30 PM San Pasqual Battlefield St. Historic Park Bring your picnic dinner Program begins at 6:30 PM
Thursday	June 22	HISTORY DISCUSSION - 7 PM Pioneer Room, Escondido Community Center Topic TBA; Leader - Ralph O'Reilly
Saturday	July TBA	LECTURE - Location & Topic TBA

* * SEE OVER * *

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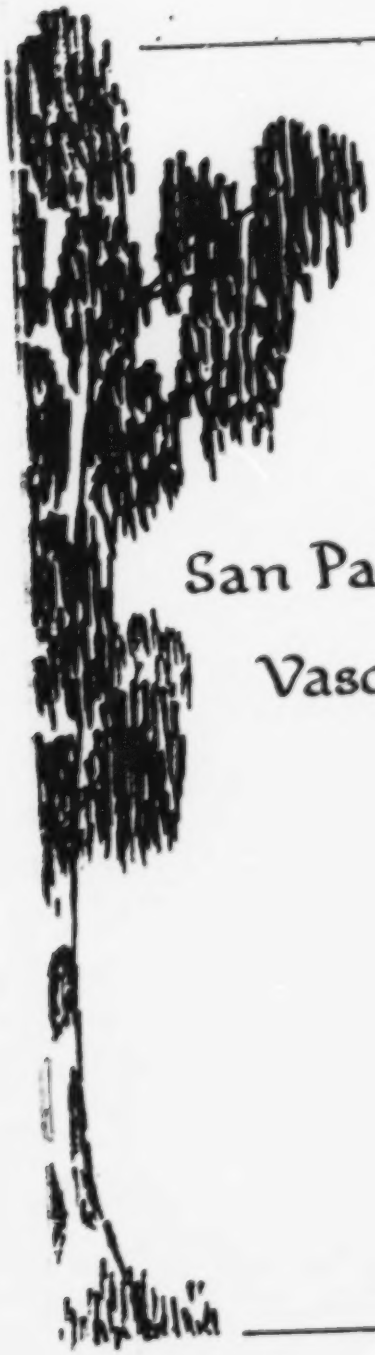

San Pasqual Battlefield
Vascular Plants

Plants
1.00

San Pasqual Battlefield

Vascular Plants

Revised according to the 1993 Jepson Manual
James Diliane July, 1993

Growth Habit

t tree h herb
s shrub f fern
v vine g grass
p perennial

Status

N California native
I introduced
* planted
+ native to site with additional plantings

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Status
Amaranthaceae Amaranth Family			
Amaranthus blitoides	Prostrate Amaranth	h	N
Anacardiaceae Sumac Family			
Malosma laurina	Laurel Sumac	s	N
Rhus ovata	Sugar Bush	s	N*
Schinus molle	Peruvian Pepper Tree	t	I*
Apiaceae Carrot Family			
Bowlesia incana	American Bowlesia	h	N
Daucus pusillus	Rattlesnake Weed	h	N
Asclepiadaceae Milkweed Family			
Sarcostemma cynanchoides ssp. *hartwigii*	Hartwig's Milkvine	v	N
Asteraceae Aster Family			
Acourtia microcephala	Sacapellote	p	N
Artemisia californica	California Sagebrush	s	N
Baccharis pilularis	Coyote Bush	s	N+
Baccharis sarothroides	Broom Baccharis	s	N
Bebbia juncea ssp. *aspera*	Sweetbush	s	N
Brickellia californica	California Brickelbush	s	N
Centaurea melitensis	Star-thistle/Tocalote	h	I
Chaenactis artemisiifolia	White Pincushin	h	N
Chaenactis glabriuscula	San Diego Pincushion	h	N
Cirsium occidentale	Cobweb Thistle	h	N
Conyza canadensis	Horseweed	h	N
Encelia californica	California Encelia	s	N+
Eriophyllum confertiflorum var. *confertiflorum*	Golden-yarrow	p	N
Filago californica	California Filago	h	N
Gnaphalium bicolor	Bicolor Everlasting	h	N
Gnaphalium californicum	California Everlasting	h	N
Gnaphalium canescens ssp. *beneolens*	Fragrant Everlasting	h	N
Gutierrezia sarothrae	Broom Matchweed	p	N
Hazardia squarrosa ssp. *grindelioides*	Sawtooth Goldenbush	s	N
Hedypnois cretica	Hedypnois	h	I
Helianthus annuus	Western Sunflower	h	N
Heterotheca grandiflora	Telegraph Weed	h	N
Hypochaeris glabra	Smooth Cat's-ear	h	I
Isocoma menziesii var. *vernonioides*	Goldenbush	s	N
Lactuca serriola	Wild Lettuce	h	I
Lessingia filaginifolia	California-aster	p	N
Machaeranthera juncea	Rush-like Bristleweed	p	N List 4
Chamomilla suaveolens	Pineapple Weed	h	I
Senecio vulgaris	Common Groundsel	h	I
Sonchus asper	Prickly Sow Thistle	h	I
Sonchus oleraceus	Common Sow Thistle	h	I
Stephanomeria virgata ssp. *virgata*	Wreath-plant	h	N
Stylocline gnaphaloides	Everlasting Nest Straw	h	N
Boraginaceae Borage Family			
Amsinckia menziesii var. *intermedia*	Fiddleneck	h	N
Cryptantha intermedia	Nievitas Cryptantha	h	N
Pectocarya linearis ssp. *ferocula*	Slender Pectocarya	h	N
Pectocarya penicillata	Winged Pectocarya	h	N
Plagiobothrys nothofulvus	Popcornflower	h	N

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Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Status
Brassicaceae Mustard Family			
Capsella bursa-pastoris	Shepherd's Purse	h	I
Caulanthus heterophyllus var. *heterophyllus*	Jewelflower	h	N
Hirschfeldia incana	Wild mustard	h	I
Lepidium virginicum var. *robinsonii*	Peppergrass	h	N
Sisymbrium altissimum	Tumble Mustard	h	I
Sisymbrium irio	London Rocket	h	I
Cactaceae Cactus Family			
Opuntia demissa	Hybrid Prickly-pear	s	N
Opuntia ficus-indica	Mission Cactus	s	I
Caprifoliaceae Honeysuckle Family			
Sambucus mexicana	Elderberry	s	N+
Caryophyllaceae Pink Family			
Cardionema ramosissimum	Tread Lightly	h	N
Stellaria media	Common Chickweed	h	I
Chenopodiaceae Goosefoot Family			
Chenopodium album	Pigweed	h	I
Chenopodium californicum	California Goosefoot	h	N
Salsola tragus	Tumble Weed/Russian Thistle	h	I
Convolvulaceae Morning-Glory Family			
Calystegia macrostegia ssp. *tenuifolia*	Wild Morning-glory	v	N
Crassulaceae Stonecrop Family			
Crassula connata	Pygmy-weed	h	N
Dudleya pulverulenta ssp. *pulverulenta*	Chalk-lettuce	p	N
Curcurbitaceae Gourd Family			
Curcurbita foetidissima	Calabazilla	p	N
Mara macrocarpus var. *macrocarpus*	Wild Cucumber/Manroot	v	N
Cuscutaceae Dodder Family			
Cuscuta californica var. *californica*	California Dodder	h	N
Euphorbiaceae Spurge Family			
Chamaesyce maculata	Spotted Spurge	h	I
Chamaesyce polycarpa	Sandmat	h	N
Eremocarpus setigerus	Doveweed	h	N
Stillingia linearifolia	Stillingia	p	N
Fabaceae Pea Family			
Lathyrus vestitus var. *alefeldi*	Canyon Pea	v	N
Lotus hamatus	Grab Lotus	h	N
Lotus scoparius	Deer Weed	p	N
Lotus strigosus	Bishop's Lotus	h	N
Lupinus bicolor	Miniature Lupine	h	N
Lupinus hirsutissimus	Stinging Lupine	h	N
Lupinus succulentus	Arroyo Lupine	h	N*
Lupinus truncatus	Collar Lupine	h	N
Melilotus indicus	Sweet Clover	h	I
Robinia psuedoacacia	Black Locust	t	I*
Trifolium hirtum	Rose Clover	h	I
Fagaceae Oak Family			
Quercus agrifolia var. *agrifolia*	Coast Live Oak	t	N*
Quercus engelmannii	Engelmann Oak	t	N*
Gentianaceae Gentian Family			
Centaurium venustum	Canchalagua	h	N
Geranaceae Geranium Family			
Erodium cicutarium	Red-stem Filaree	h	I
Erodium moschatum	White-stem Filaree	h	I
Pelargonium sp.	Garden Geranium	p	I
Grossulariaceae Currant Family			
Ribes viburnifolium	Evergreen Currant	s	N*
Hydrophyllaceae Waterleaf Family			
Eucrypta chrysanthemifolia var. *chrysanthemifolia*	Eucrypta	h	N
Phacelia cicutaria var. *hispida*	Caterpillar Phacelia	h	N
Phacelia parryi	Parry's Phacelia	h	N

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Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Status
Lamiaceae Mint Family			
Lamium amplexicaule	Henbit	h	I
Marrubium vulgare	Horehound	p	I
Salvia apiana	White Sage	s	N
Salvia columbariae	Chia	h	N
Liliaceae Lily Family			
Dichelostemma capitatum ssp. *capitatum*	Blue Dicks	h	N
Yucca whipplei	Our Lord's Candle	p	N
Malvaceae Mallow Family			
Malacothamnus fasciculatus	Chaparral Mallow	s	N
Malva parviflora	Cheeseweed	h	I
Myrtaceae Myrtle Family			
Eucalyptus spp.	Eucalyptus	t	I*
Nyctaginaceae Four-O'Clock Family			
Mirabilis californica	Wishbone Bush	p	N
Oleaceae Olive Family			
Olea europea	Olive	t	I*
Onagraceae Evening-Primrose Family			
Camissonia bistorta	California Sun Cup	h	N
Camissonia californica	Mustard Primrose	h	N
Clarkia epilobioides	Canyon Godetia/Clarkia	h	N
Papaveraceae Poppy Family			
Eschscholtzia californica	California Poppy	h	N*
Romneya coulteri	Matilija Poppy	s	N*
Pinaceae Pine Family			
Pinus torreyana	Torrey Pine	t	N*
Pinus sp.	Pine	t	I*
Plantaginaceae Plantain Family			
Plantago erecta	Dot-seed Plantain	h	N
Platanaceae Sycamore Family			
Platanus racemosa	Western Sycamore	t	N*
Poaceae Grass Family (Partial listing)			
Achnatherum coronatum	Giant Needlegrass	g	N
Avena barbata	Slender Wild Oat	g	I
Bromus madritensis ssp. *rubens*	Foxtail Chess	g	I
Bromus diandrus	Ripgut Grass	g	I
Cynodon dactylon	Bermuda Grass	g	I
Hordeum murinum ssp. *leporinum*	Hare Barley	g	I
Muhlenbergia microsperma	Littleseed Muhly	g	N
Pennisetum setaceum	African Fountain Grass	g	I
Nassella lepida	Foothill Needlegrass	g	N
Polemoniaceae Phlox Family			
Eriastrum filifolium	Thread-leaf Woollystar	h	N
Gilia angelensis	Grassland Gilia	h	N
Linanthus dianthiflorus	Ground Pink	h	N
Navarretia hamata ssp. *leptantha*	Skunkweed	h	N
Polygonaceae Buckwheat Family			
Chorizanthe procumbens (var. *albiflora*)	Prostrate Spine-flower	h	N List 4
Chorizanthe staticoides	Turkish Rugging	h	N
Enogonum fasciculatum var. *fasciculatum*	California Buckwheat	s	N
Enogonum fasciculatum var. *polifolium*	Rosemary Flat-top Buckwheat	s	N
Enogonum gracile var. *gracile*	Slender Buckwheat	h	N
Pterostegia drymanoides	Thread-Stem	h	N
Pteridaceae Brake Fern Family			
Chelanthes newberryi	Cotton Fern	f	N
Pellaea andromedifolia	Coffee Fern	f	N
Pellaea mucronata var. *californica*	Bird's Foot Fern	f	N
Pentagramma triangulans var. *triangulans*	Goldback Fern	f	N
Pentagramma triangulans var. *viscosa*	Silverback Fern	f	N
Portulacaceae Purslane Family			
Calandrinia ciliata	Red Maids	h	N
Calyptridium monandrum	Common Calyptridium	h	N
Claytonia perfoliata	Miner's Lettuce	h	N

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Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Status
Punicaceae Pomegranate Family			
Punica granatum	Pomegranate	s	I*
Ranunculaceae Crowfoot Family			
Delphinium parryi ssp. *parryi*	Parry's Larkspur	h	N
Rhamnaceae Buckthorn Family			
Rhamnus ilicifolia	Holly-leaf Redberry	s	N
Rosaceae Rose Family			
Prunus ilicifolia ssp. *lyonii*	Catalina Cherry	s	N*
Rubiaceae Madder Family			
Galium angustifolium ssp. *angustifolium*	Narrow-leaved Bedstraw	p	N
Galium aparine	Common Bedstraw/Goose Grass	h	I
Rutaceae Citrus Family			
Cneoridium dumosum	Coast Spice Bush	s	N
Saxifragaceae Saxifrage Family			
Jepsonia parryi	Coast Jepsonia	h	N
Scrophulariaceae Figwort Family			
Antirrhinum nuttallianum	Nuttall's Snapdragon	h	N
Castilleja exserta	Purple Owl's Clover	h	N*
Keckiella antirrhinoides ssp. *antirrhinoides*	Yellow Bush Penstemon	s	N
Linaria canadensis var. *texana*	Toadflax	h	N
Mimulus aurantiacus (*M. puniceus*)	Bush Monkeyflower	s	N
Mimulus brevipes	Wide-throat Monkeyflower	h	N
Penstemon spectabilis var. *spectabilis*	Violet Penstemon	p	N
Scrophularia californica var. *floribunda*	California Figwort	h	N
Selaginellaceae Spike-Moss Family			
Selaginella bigelovii	Bigelow's Spike-moss	h	N
Solanaceae Nightshade Family			
Datura wrightii	Jimson Weed	p	N
Nicotiana quadrivalvis (*N. bigelovii* var. *wallacei*)	Wallace's Tobacco	h	N
Nicotiana glauca	Tree Tobacco	p	I
Physalis crassifolia	Ground-cherry	h	N
Solanum americanum	White Nightshade	h	I
Solanum douglasii	Douglas' Nightshade	h	N
Urticaceae Nettle Family			
Hesperocnide tenella	Western Nettle	h	N
Parietaria hespera var. *californica*	Western Pellitory	h	N
Urtica urens	Dwarf Nettle	h	I

Chorizanthe procumbens var. *albiflora* and *Machaeranthera junceus* are on List 4 of the Inventory of Rare and Endangered Plants of California. List 4 is a watch list of plants of limited distributions. *Chorizanthe procumbens* var. *albiflora* is found only in San Diego County; *Machaeranthera junceus* ranges from San Diego County south to Baja California and Sonora.

Much of the natural vegetation within the monument is called coastal sage scrub, a habitat type which is fast disappearing as Southern California is urbanized. Rare animals restricted to this habitat and found within the monument include the California Gnatcatcher, the San Diego Cactus Wren, and the Orangethroat Whiptail Lizard.

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THE BATTLE OF SAN PASQUAL

'We laid the brave men that so suddenly died
ere they marched o'er the land they had barely espied.
When peaceful their sleep in the lone grave shall be...
No foe with their chargers and lances draw nigh -
No grief o'er their graves but the zephyrs soft sigh.
Farewell: we have left thee: companions in arms;
Our lives may be joyful or filled with alarms,
Whatever our joy or our sorrow may be,
We'll remember the graves by the lone willow tree.'

by Dr. E. D. French

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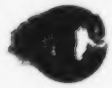
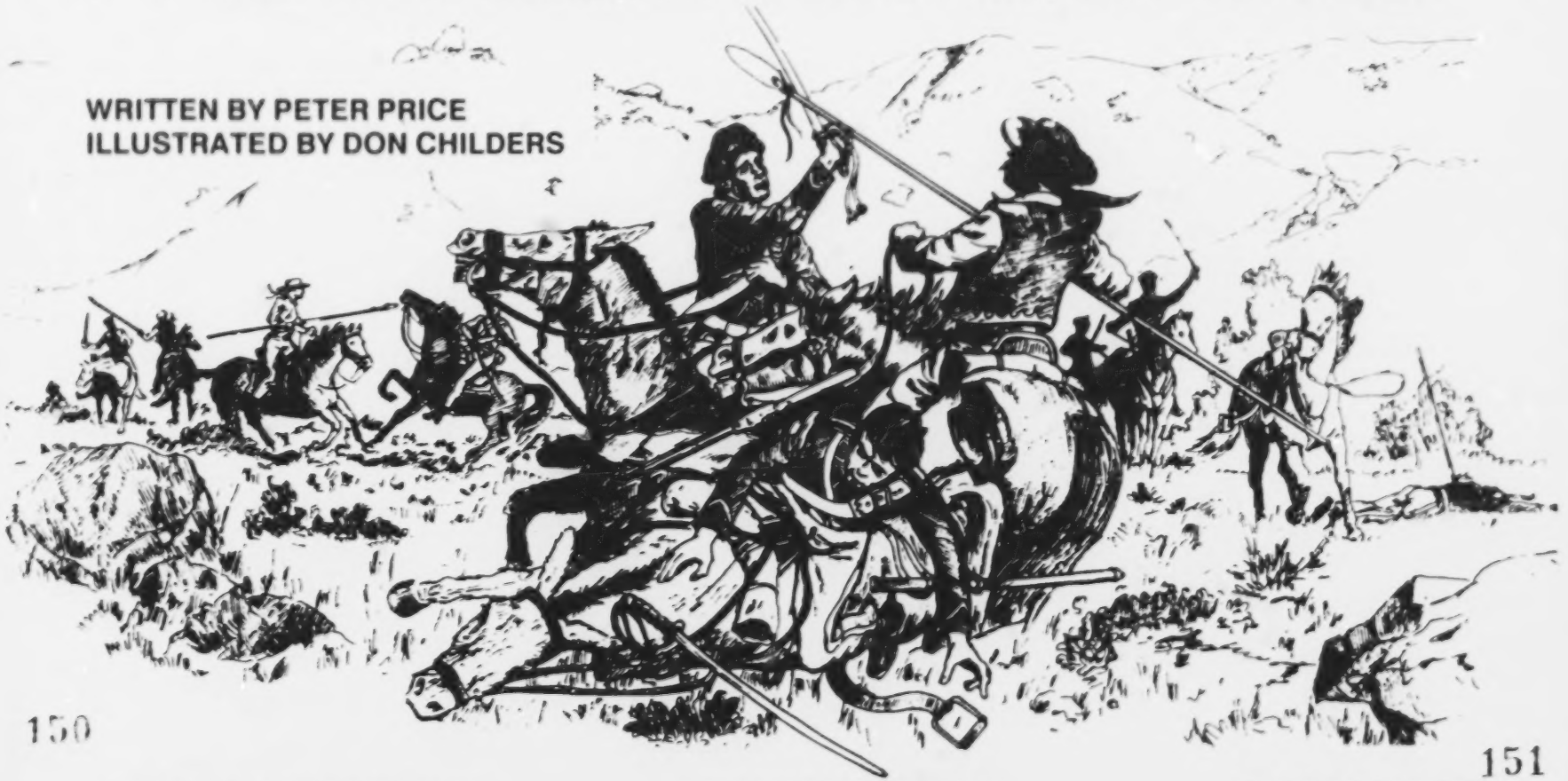


THE BATTLE AT SAN PASQUAL DEC. 6, 1846

& THE STRUGGLE FOR CALIFORNIA

WRITTEN BY PETER PRICE
ILLUSTRATED BY DON CHILDERS



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HISTORICALLY ACCURATE

FULLY ILLUSTRATED

MAPS AND GUIDE

INTRODUCTION

The only battle that the United States lost in the Mexican War was fought in San Diego County. As battles go it was a minor tragedy, but it had a strange conclusion: The surviving Dragoons, who were forerunners of the U.S. Cavalry of later frontier fame, were rescued by the U.S. Navy and the Marines.

This book of the Battle of San Pasqual has been totally revised since its first publication in 1975. It has been expanded to include a synopsis of the struggle for California, with an additional map. All the story illustrations have been redrawn; many incorporate corrections to uniforms, the proper wielding of lances, etc., suggested by experts.

This second edition owes its birth in part to the enthusiasm of Mick Bradley, a walking encyclopedia on the Battle, and to Jack Brussel. Many others have been supportive and helpful in proof-reading the manuscript: The State of California Ranger Staff at the State Historical Park in San Pasqual, notably Joanne Nash and Ron Hinrichs, volunteer helper, and Ed Navarro, Frontera District Superintendent at San Diego. The interpretation of historical events, however, has been solely the responsibility of the author. Thanks also to Ann Jaggard and Dave Duffy for setting the manuscript into type.

The people who helped launch the first edition are again acknowledged with thanks: Jack Bradley, Thornton Jordan, the Gene Townsend family, Russell Bowen, Doctor Clifford Graves, and the staff of the California Room at the San Diego Public Library.

The explosive growth of San Diego County in recent years has brought housing estates lapping to the very edge of Mule Hill, on historic and once-wild ground where in 1974 Gene Townsend advised us to roll a boulder in front to warn rattlesnakes of our approach.

TEXAS, CALIFORNIA, AND THE MEXICAN WAR

Ninety-nine percent of the roughly 1,700 American servicemen who fell in the war with Mexico from 1846 to 1848, and the six times as many who succumbed to disease, died on soil which the United States did not keep at the war's end. The one percent who were killed or who died of wounds at San Pasqual and the two much smaller actions near Los Angeles, yielded not only California but all of the western continent south of Oregon: Mexican territories which would in future years become the States of Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and the southern and western edges of Wyoming and Colorado. The spoils of war were rich indeed. Including California, they comprised over 40% of Mexico, and an even greater percentage of Mexican land which received sufficient rainfall to raise cattle, crops, and timber.

Although the clashes in California put an end to Mexican rule in the northern continent, control had been slipping away for years due to Mexico's self-destructive immigration policy which had recently lost Texas. As in Texas, American and European settlers in California were isolated from their adopted country by language and religion. They banded together for protection, and eventually de-stabilized the local government, which was already torn by internal disagreement and dissatisfaction with rule from Mexico City. The settlers were helped by people in high places in the U.S. Government who feared that European powers, especially Britain or France, might take advantage of Mexico's weakness and re-establish footholds in North America.

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Shortly before Mexico won freedom from Spain in 1821, American settlers in the area known as Texas had obtained Spanish land grants; Mexico honored and legalized them two years later. But soon the trickle of settlers became a flood, and the Mexican government became alarmed. Friction developed over land titles and Mexico's 1829 law outlawing slavery; many Texans were slave owners. In 1830, to the fury of the settlers, Mexico passed a law restricting further immigration and stationed troops in the territory. In 1833 the Texans petitioned Mexico City for permission to form a self-governing province within Mexico. Their plea was rejected and their beloved leader, Stephen Austin, thrown in jail.

Matters came to a head in 1835 when the ruthless and despotic Antonio Santa Anna became President and sent more troops to reinforce Mexican authority. The settlers resisted and routed the garrisons at Goliad and San Antonio. Santa Anna struck back, massacring 400 prisoners taken at Goliad and wiping out the defenders at the Alamo. This savagery confirmed the prejudices many Americans held for Mexico and its people. Texas declared independence on March 2, 1836, and a few weeks later defeated the Mexican Army at the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21.

Texas petitioned to be annexed to the United States in August of the same year, but was refused mainly because inclusion of a new slave-owning state would have upset the balance in the Congress of slave and non-slave States; but also partly because Mexico had stated that annexation would be regarded as an act of war. Matters dragged on for eight years, and then a greater risk appeared for the United States. The U.S. and Britain had been in dispute over Oregon for decades; (later, in 1846, during the opening days of the struggle for California, the British warship *Collingwood* sailed into Monterey Harbor; the U.S. frigates there, the *Savannah*, *Congress*, and *Cyane*, cleared the decks for action). Now the United States watched diplomatic bonds developing between Texas and Britain; the long-feared possibility of new interference in North America seemed real. To thwart it, Texas was admitted to the Union on March 1, 1845.

Later that year Mexico indicated a willingness to negotiate over Texas. Diplomat John Slidell was dispatched with added secret instructions to offer to buy California and New Mexico. He found that the Mexican Government would discuss only the disputed boundary of Texas, which Mexico claimed ended at the Neuces River. The U.S.A. considered the boundary to be on the Rio Grande over 100 miles further south. Slidell's mission was a failure.

In January 1846, General Zachary Taylor was ordered to take troops from the Neuces, across the disputed territory, all the way down to the Rio Grande. American and Mexican cavalry clashed on April 25, and 11 Americans were killed. "American blood has been shed on American soil!," declared President Polk, and on May 13 war was declared. The war was not universally popular with the American people nor their legislators, including Abraham Lincoln. Some saw it as imperialistic land-grabbing, but others saw it as a step towards the nation's Manifest Destiny to span the continent between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The war with Mexico was six weeks old when Stephen Watts Kearny, veteran of the War of 1812, set out from Fort Leavenworth at the head of the Army of the West. His mission was to occupy New Mexico, then march on to California, which he was expected by President Polk to reach before winter.

As he entered the Mexican province, Kearny announced to the Governor that he came "seeking union," and warned against offering resistance. His force of 1,700 entered Santa Fe without a shot being fired, and the Stars and Stripes was raised on August 18. For a month Kearny was busy organizing a territorial government. Then on September 25, newly promoted to Brevet Brigadier General, he set off for California. Because of the easy victory expected, and problems of food and water supply on the mountain and desert trails ahead, his army was slimmed down to his personal staff, 300 men of his own regiment the First Dragoons, two guides, and a party of Topographical Engineers under Lieutenant William Emory. Eleven weeks were to pass before the battered remnants limped into San Diego after one of the longest and most grueling marches in U.S. military history.

Mounted mostly on well-worn mules and a few horses, with mules pulling the wagons and two howitzers, the force made slow progress down the soft banks of the Rio Grande del Norte. Almost daily they learned of murder and plunder by Navajo and Comanche Indians in the small Mexican communities. When Dragoons were sent in pursuit, the better-mounted Indians disappeared easily into the mountains.

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Ten miles below Socorro the column was startled to meet Kit Carson, the frontiersman and scout. He and a party of 15 Americans and Indians had ridden 1000 miles in 31 days, headed for Washington with dispatches from Los Angeles. California was already conquered, Carson told Kearny; the United States flag flew over every major town. With his job apparently done, Kearny further reduced his army. He also persuaded the very reluctant Carson, who was looking forward to a reunion with his family, to guide the Army to California.

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Two-thirds of the Dragoons – B, G, and I Companies – were ordered to return to Santa Fe under the command of Major Edwin Sumner. C and K Companies were retained under the command of Captain Benjamin Moore and Lieutenant Thomas Hammond who was Moore's brother-in-law; both men were to meet their deaths at San Pasqual. Kearny's own staff was headed by Captains Abraham Johnston and Henry Turner. Major Thomas Swords was Quartermaster, and Assistant-Surgeon John Griffin, the doctor. Because one of the objectives was to survey the route, Lieutenants Emory and Warner and their staff of engineers stayed with the column.

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Four days later there was another change of plan. It was now October 9, and they had covered only 200 miles in two weeks. The wagons came into camp very late, some damaged from crashing over rocks and boulders; the mules were utterly spent. Carson estimated that considering the terrain ahead, beginning with the climb over the Mimbres mountains, it would take four months to reach the coast. Kearny agreed to send the wagons back. They made camp for three days, waiting for pack-saddles to be sent down from Santa Fe.

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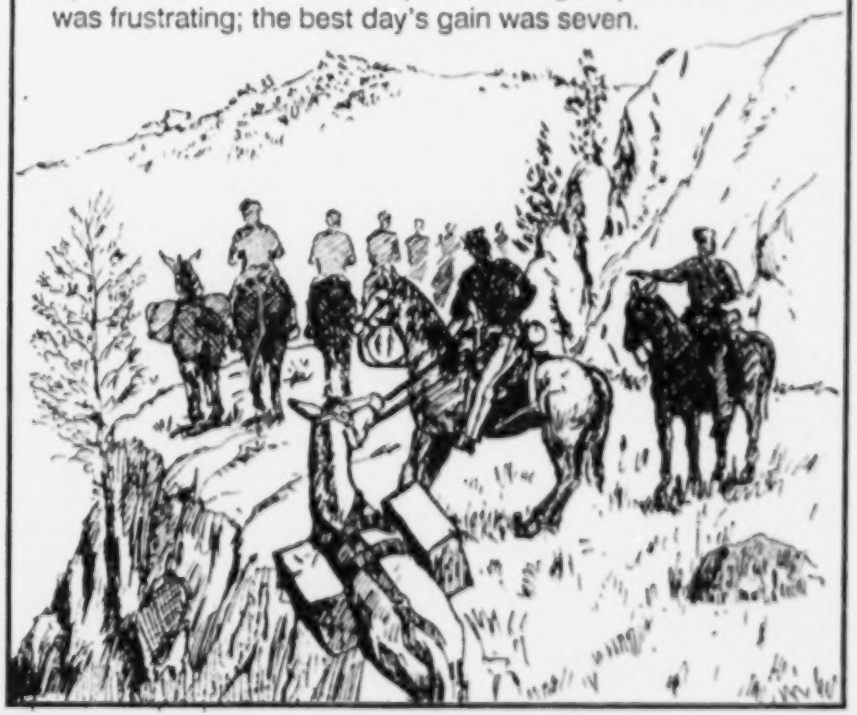
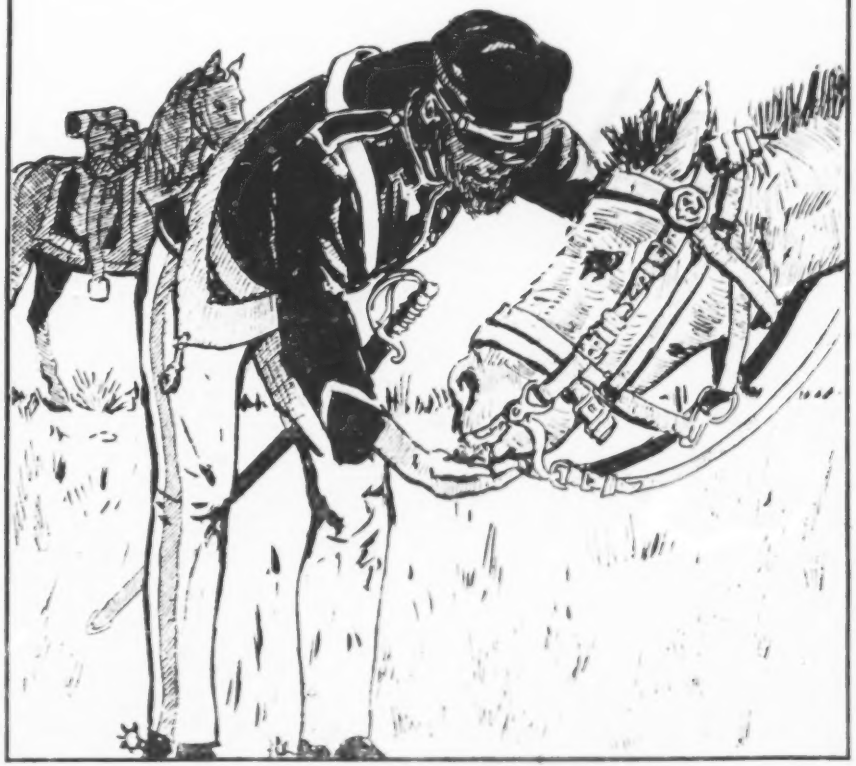
On October 15 the column of about 140 men left the Rio Grande, struggling over the mountains to find the headwaters of the Gila. Kearny tried each day to make contact with the shadowing Apaches, but the Indians were wary, with old memories of their people being lured into the town-square of the mining village of Santa Rita to be trapped and slaughtered. But on the 20th, Red Sleeve, chief of the Mimbres Apaches, led dozens of his tribe into the Dragoons' camp to trade and promise friendship and assistance to other Americans who would soon follow the Army of the West.

The country through which the Gila River flows on its course through present-day New Mexico to Arizona is rugged. During the first days of November the Army was forced to leave the Gila for higher ground when it raced through canyons. They detoured into the mountains and edged along narrow crumbling ledges before slithering back down to rejoin the river. Some days they crossed and re-crossed the river a dozen times. The backs of the long-suffering mules became so raw from the constant shifting and chafing of the packs that some animals had to be turned loose. Other mules collapsed from sheer exhaustion and also had to be abandoned. On one day alone, 12 pack animals were lost. Although contact with the Apaches was now more frequent, trading for precious mules was frustrating; the best day's gain was seven.

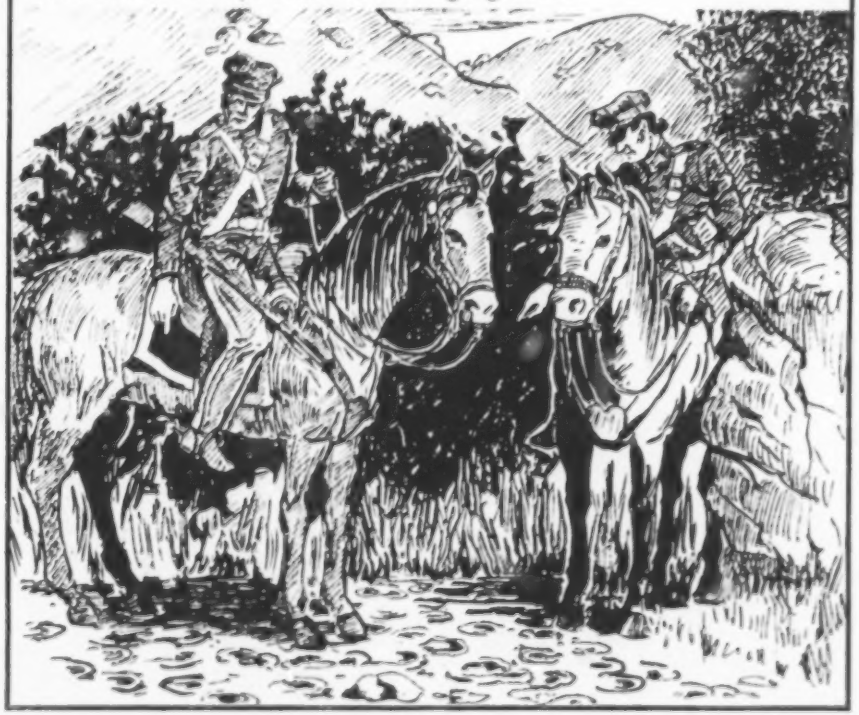


On November 9, the weary column gratefully left the mountains, and still following the Gila, emerged onto the plain. Soon they were passing through the irrigated cotton fields of the Pima Indians. When these industrious and happy people saw that the Americans came in friendship, Major Swords, who was responsible for keeping the Army in supplies, was invited to set up a trading center. Exchanges went on all day: beads, cloth, and blankets for corn and cornmeal, watermelons, pumpkins and molasses. Next day they passed through the Maricopa Indians, who were as honest and friendly as the Pima.

To cut off the broad northerly arc of the Gila, Kearny struck out across the Maricopa mountain range. The column made it in two hard days' marches. Although some water for the mules had been carried in gourds traded from the Indians, it was soon exhausted. The 45-mile second day had to be covered with no food or water for the animals. Six of the Dragoons' mounts succumbed. Emory gave his own breakfast of two biscuits to his own mule, which had been his companion for the 1,800 miles since Fort Leavenworth. Kearny ordered that for the remainder of the journey, half the men must walk.



On November 22, Kearny's own horse failed; most of the men were now on foot. Towards evening they were shocked to come upon a camp-site where it was estimated that over a thousand horses had been a few hours earlier. Carson speculated it was General Jose Castro, who had somehow eluded the American occupation and was now leading an army back to recapture California. Kearny announced they would find the Mexicans and attack at nightfall to cover their numerical disadvantage. Then some Indians were spotted, and opinion switched to the idea that the tracks belonged to captured horses. Still later, a Mexican horseman was spotted, watching them from a hilltop. Kearny formed a defensive camp and sentinels were posted on the high ground.



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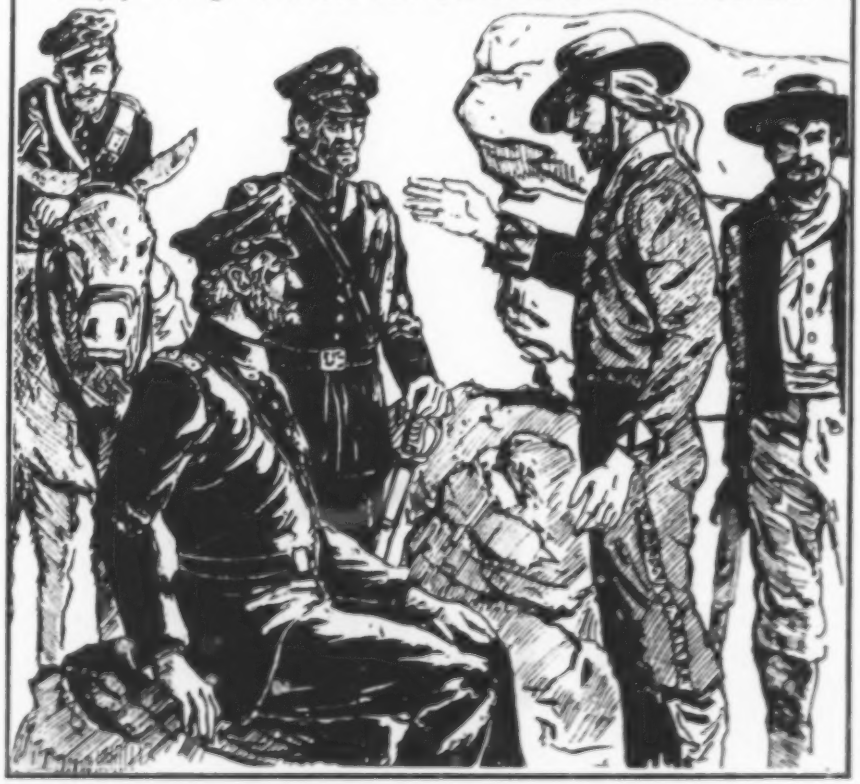
Lieutenant Hammond and the howitzers did not catch up until after dark. He reported there were camp-fires a few miles distant on the north side of the Gila. Emory was ordered to lead a reconnaissance party consisting of his own men, some of whom were civilians and could pose as travelers, and 15 Dragoons. The camp-fires proved to belong to a party of Mexicans in charge of about 500 horses, obviously the herd whose tracks they'd seen earlier. Emory insisted that their leaders come back with him to be questioned. They had no connection with the war, they assured Kearny; they were simply driving the horses from California to market in Sonora.



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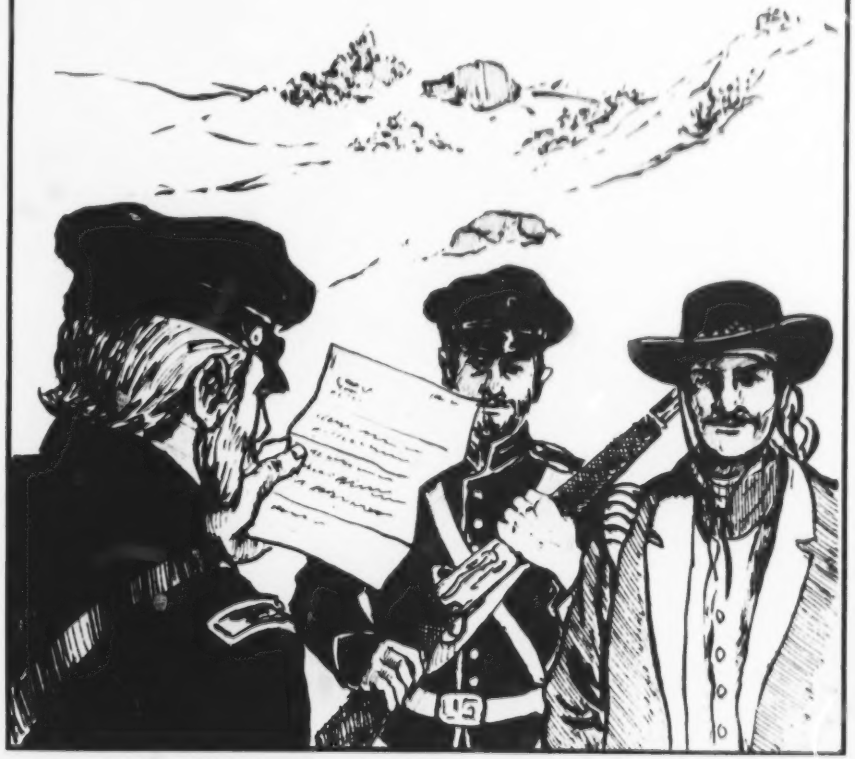
The Army stayed in camp next day, breaking in some of the bartered horses and resting their own animals for the desert journey ahead. A scouting patrol encountered another Mexican who, from the water bottles and food he was carrying, was suspected of being a messenger. He was searched under protest and found to have messages from California which made clear that events had moved dramatically since Carson's departure. There had been an uprising; the "detestable Anglo-Yankee yoke" had been thrown off and the tricolor once again flew proudly over California.



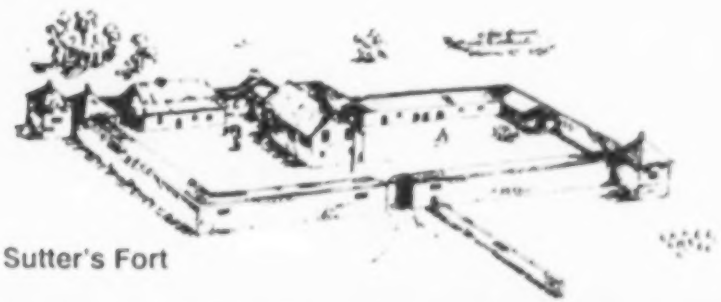
The news stunned Kearny. He'd given up two-thirds of his tiny army; the remainder was about to enter enemy country ill-nourished and exhausted, with mounts that could barely move under their own weight, much less carry the Dragoons into battle. The Gila had now emptied into the Colorado, and the column trudged along the south bank looking for the safest crossing for the weakened animals. They found a suitable spot where the river was about 1500 feet wide, but with a series of small isles in mid-stream. On the far side they found a caved-in water hole which was opened to provide just enough water to restore the men, but little for the animals.

continued on page 17

THE STRUGGLE FOR CALIFORNIA

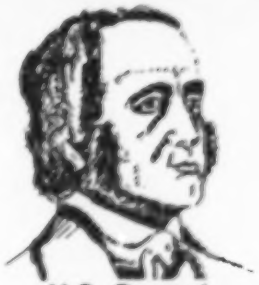
When Kit Carson met Kearny at Soccoro and told him that California was under the American flag, he was describing the situation as it was when he'd set off from Los Angeles on September 5. In the Nineteenth Century, there was a strong feeling that having an Anglo-Saxon heritage bestowed a natural superiority, so neither Carson nor Kearny could imagine that the quick and easy victory might be temporary. It was similar high-handedness that later dashed President Polk's hopes of a bloodless takeover in California.

Ten months earlier, in December 1845, United States explorer and Army Topographical Engineer John Fremont had brought his third expedition to the western continent into Sutter's Fort. He had not asked permission to enter Mexican California, and the 15 armed men with him had alarmed Manuel Castro, the Civil Prefect at Monterey. Fremont made frequent calls on the local U.S. Consul, Thomas Larkin. This increased Castro's concern, and it also worried the British Vice-Consul there, because the United States and Britain were involved in a long-running dispute over Oregon, which bordered California to the north.



Sutter's Fort

John Fremont



U.S. Consul
Thomas Larkin

Castro granted Fremont permission to spend the winter in California, away from the settled areas. Fremont ignored the agreement and by March had quadrupled the number of his heavily-armed "bodyguards." Under threat of military action by General Jose Castro, Fremont blustered for a few days and then left for Oregon. At Klamath Lake in May he was overtaken by Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie of the U.S. Marines, serving as secret emissary of the United States Government. Gillespie had been following Fremont since dropping off new instructions to Consul Larkin. Larkin's instructions were to persuade the Californios that there would be dire consequences if they allied themselves with Britain or France, and to give a promise to intervene against Mexico if California were to agree to annexation to the United States.

Gillespie's messages for Fremont included news that the U.S. Navy was under orders to blockade Californian ports if war broke out between Mexico and the United States. To the two Americans there seemed no doubt that their country intended to take California sooner or later. From their northern camp they sent word of their whereabouts to Larkin and asked for news of the Navy.

The *Portsmouth*, under the command of Captain John Montgomery, had in fact arrived at Monterey with the announced intent of protecting the lives of U.S. citizens, but at the same time confirming friendship with the Californios.

The Civil Governor of California, Pio Pico, located at Los Angeles, had for some time been in sharp disagreement with his countrymen in the north over allegiance to Mexico. He interpreted General Castro's call for support in driving Fremont out of California as an excuse to establish independent military power. It widened the rift, and caused Pico to consider asking the British Navy for protection if rebellion against his civil authority should break out.

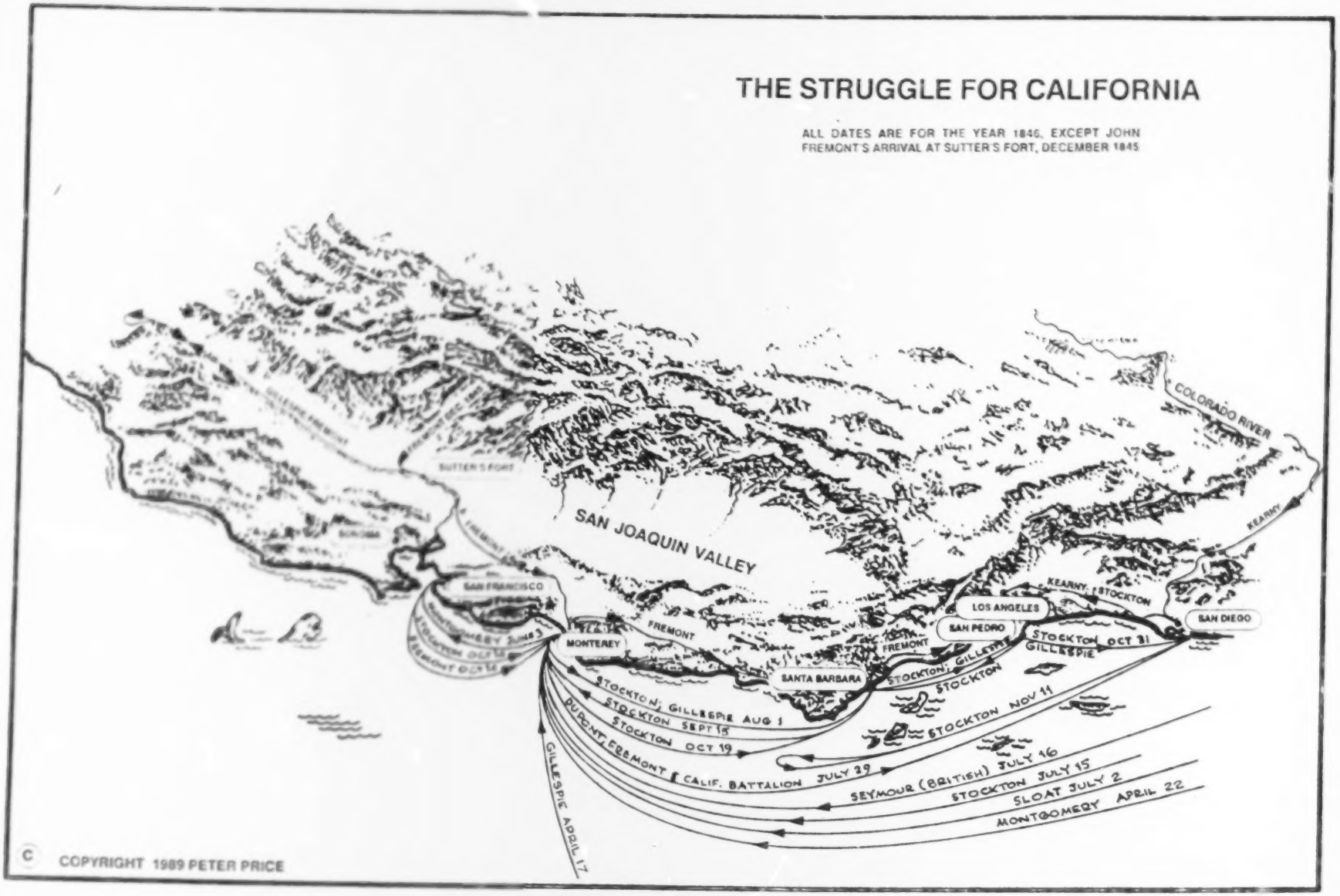
Meanwhile in the North the activities of Fremont and Gillespie, and the arrival of the U.S. Navy, had created intense excitement and speculation among the American and European settlers. Rumors circulated of impending military action against them by General Castro. Although Fremont had announced his intention of returning to the United States, he stayed on, anticipating trouble. It came when the settlers learned that General Castro had visited General Vallejo at Sonoma, and collected 200 horses. Surely this was in preparation for expelling them!

General
Jose Castro

Captain
John B. Montgomery

From Fremont's camp, a party of settlers headed by Ezekiel Merritt, a naturalized Mexican citizen and therefore technically a traitor, surprised the Californios and took away the horses. Five days later Merritt seized Vallejo himself, and in spite of the Mexican's assurances that he favored the annexation of California, hustled him off to Sutter's Fort, where he was imprisoned by Fremont. Among the settlers who seized Vallejo and looted Sonoma was a William Ide. Recognizing that their actions would brand them as thieves and traitors, with probable grim consequences, Ide talked the settlers into declaring California an independent republic under the Bear Flag.

In Monterey harbor, Captain Montgomery of the *Portsmouth* disassociated the United States from the Bear Flaggers, and declined to send them the munitions they asked for. In the South Pio Pico was on the point of marching against General Castro when he learned of the occupation of Sonoma by the settlers. He rallied to his countrymen by labelling the settlers "treasonous adventurers." In the growing atmosphere of unrest and violence, bloodshed was just a matter of time. Castro organized a force of 160 Californios to recapture Sonoma, but a smaller renegade detachment,without Castro's authority, captured several Bear Flaggers and killed two of them. Several days later another fight between Bear Flaggers and Californios left dead on both sides. Fremont now dropped all pretense at waiting for settled conditions to return home; with the encouragement of most Bear Flaggers he took over leadership of the revolt and joined in July Fourth celebrations at Sonoma.


THE STRUGGLE FOR CALIFORNIA
ALL DATES ARE FOR THE YEAR 1846, EXCEPT JOHN FREMONT'S ARRIVAL AT SUTTER'S FORT, DECEMBER 1845
SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY
COLORADO RIVER
SUTTER'S FORT
SAN FRANCISCO
MONTEREY
FREMONT
SANTA BARBARA
LOS ANGELES
SAN PEDRO
SAN DIEGO
KEARNY & STOCKTON
KEARNY
STOCKTON OCT 31
GILLESPIE
STOCKTON; GILLESPIE
STOCKTON
STOCKTON; GILLESPIE AUG 1
STOCKTON SEPT 15
STOCKTON OCT 19
STOCKTON NOV 11
DUPONT, FREMONT & CALIF. BATTALION JULY 29
SEYMOUR (BRITISH) JULY 16
STOCKTON JULY 15
SLOAT JULY 2
MONTGOMERY APRIL 22
GILLESPIE APRIL 17
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A few weeks earlier U.S. Navy Commodore John Sloat, anchored at the Mexican port of Mazatlan, received dispatches announcing that fighting had broken out between the United States and Mexico on the Rio Grande. He sailed north in the *Savannah* and entered Monterey Bay on July 4. He was told of the clashes between the settlers and the Californios. This news, coupled with knowledge that the British Navy was off the coast and might take advantage of the unrest, forced Sloat into action. On July 7 he ordered sailors and Marines ashore and the United States flag was hoisted over the Custom House.

Sloat also issued orders to Montgomery, now at Yerba Buena (San Francisco), to hoist the Stars and Stripes there, and at Sonoma and Sutter's Fort. Even so, both Sloat and Montgomery were uneasy about the lawless actions of the Bear Flaggers, counseling them to restore cordial relations with the Californios and to desist from living off stolen property.

Fremont responded to an invitation from Sloat to come to Monterey for discussions by making a showy entry into town at the head of a fierce-looking band made up of settlers and

Commodore John B. Sloat

Commodore Robert F. Stockton

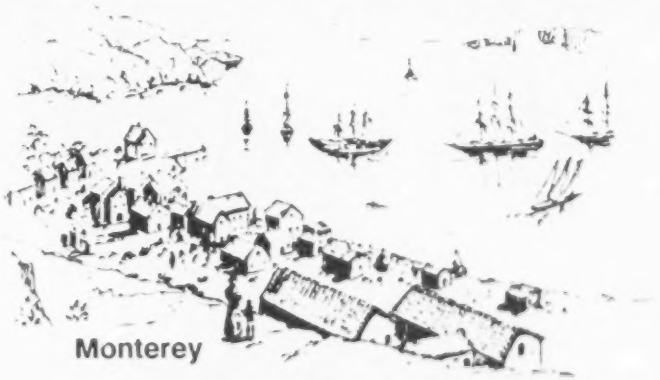
his own bodyguards, all armed to the teeth. Beside Sutters, Vallejo remained locked up without being charged with any crime. The U.S. flag, representing law and liberty, flew overhead.

Sloat had also sent a summons to surrender to General Castro. Castro responded that he would have to consult Pio Pico and the Assembly in the South, but if it were left to him, he would continue to resist the American occupation. Pico and Castro met at San Luis Obispo. Castro pointed out that the Americans controlled only the North; there was still time to organize and throw them out of California. But the further the two men travelled towards Los Angeles, the less enthusiasm they found for resistance. Southland Californios were tired of the petty squabbling among their civil and military leaders and the years of mismanagement from Mexico City. Many admired the U.S. Constitution and the stable ways of their neighbor to the East. Only clumsy action could prevent affairs moving in favor of a takeover; Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie would soon provide it.

Fremont and Gillespie visited Sloat on the *Savannah*. Sloat found Gillespie very much the close-mouthed secret agent for the United States; he gave Sloat few details of events preceding the Commodore's arrival. Still nervous about his own act of occupying Monterey, Sloat wanted to know what authority Fremont had had for his actions against the Californian authorities. Fremont made it clear that he had not claimed to act for the United States. The settlers uprising had been spontaneous; he, Fremont, had merely kept it under control.

On July 15, Sloat's replacement, U.S. Navy Commodore Robert Stockton, in command of the 54-gun *Congress*, dropped anchor in Monterey Bay. A day later, the 80-gun British warship *Collingwood*, under the command of Admiral Sir George Seymour, hove into view. The British ship's sudden arrival caused the American vessels to clear the decks for action, but within hours the commanders were exchanging courtesies. Nevertheless, mutual suspicion hung in the air. It was Stockton's passage from the Atlantic into Pacific waters that had prompted Seymour to work his way north, with Oregon on his mind. Similarly, the arrival of the British ship *Juno* at San Francisco on June 7, just three weeks later than the *Portsmouth*, had aroused suspicions in the minds of the Americans.

In contrast to Sloat, Gillespie and Fremont found in Stockton a strong supporter and admirer of their actions. He gave Fremont the rank of Major and appointed him commander of U.S. troops in California, with Gillespie as his second-in-command. In a confusing proclamation Stockton told the Californios that the U.S. occupation was a result of Mexican attacks



Monterey

San Francisco (Yerba Buena)

on the United States (at the Rio Grande). By their actions against Fremont, he told them, the local Mexican authorities showed themselves a menace to the peace of the Californian people. When they were replaced and a proper government formed, the U.S. forces would withdraw. Friend and foe puzzled over Stockton's message: did he mean that the U.S. flag would be pulled down when order was restored? Would it mean California for the Californios, or for Mexico?

On July 26, Stockton dispatched Fremont and 165 men of his California Battalion on the *Cyane* to San Diego, where they arrived 3 days later. They were welcomed by Juan Bandini and other Californios. On August 8, Fremont was ordered to march to Los Angeles to meet Stockton, who had arrived at the port of San Pedro a few miles away, with 360 sailors and Marines aboard the *Congress*. General Castro sent two local Californian representatives to negotiate with Stockton and to ask for assurances that the Americans would make no hostile move while they talked.

U.S. Sloop-of-War Portsmouth

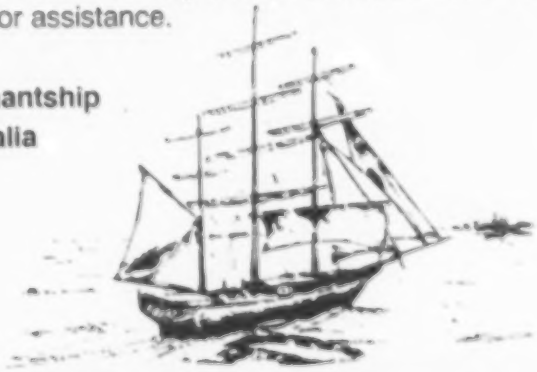
Stockton promised nothing; he responded that Mexico and the U.S.A. were at war; he expected the Californios without delay to hoist the U.S. flag and declare independence from Mexico. Castro was insulted and he refused, but with no prospect for beating back the American invasion, he and Pio Pico left Los Angeles. On August 13, Stockton, with a brass band and a force of sailors and Marines headed by Lieutenant Jacob Zeilin (destined to become 7th Commandant of the Marine Corps), occupied undefended Los Angeles. From Los Angeles Stockton wrote to the Secretary of the Navy proclaiming the peaceful takeover of California for the United States. This proclamation was one of the dispatches Kit Carson was carrying when he ran into Kearny and the Army of the West.

On September 3 Stockton re-embarked on the *Congress*, bound for San Francisco, leaving orders for Fremont to follow by land. Lieutenant Gillespie was left in charge of Southern California. A few weeks later, Stockton received word that Gillespie and his men were under siege. The Marine officer, who took no pains to hide his disdain for the Californios, had imposed dictatorial law: no two persons could meet and talk in public, meetings behind closed doors were forbidden, and Gillespie rather than the local Justices administered the law.

Although General Castro had left for Mexico, several of his fiery supporters remained in the Southland. In the pre-dawn darkness of September 23, one of them, Sebula Varela, and a party of local men attacked Gillespie's camp at Government House, but were driven off by rifle-fire. What Gillespie lacked in diplomacy, he made up for in resourcefulness; he converted four old cannon to use home-made grape-shot and fortified his camp for a siege. But within a few days he was surrounded, outnumbered six-to-one and his water supply was exhausted. He also learned that another detachment of Americans who'd been sent by Stockton to guard the Cajon Pass had been besieged at Riverside and were now captives.

On September 30, Gillespie accepted the generous terms offered by the Californios' new leader, Jose Flores (who'd broken his promise to Stockton not to take up arms), and still fully-armed, he marched out of Los Angeles for San Pedro to embark on the merchant vessel *Vandalia*. Four days later Flores accused Gillespie of going back on his agreement to sail away to Monterey and turning San Pedro into an armed camp. Gillespie was, in fact, playing for time, hoping Stockton had received and would respond to his September 24 message asking for assistance.

The Merchantship Vandalia



Stockton did respond. On October 6, the *Savannah*, under the command of Captain William Mervine, dropped anchor at San Pedro and put 300 men ashore to retake Los Angeles. But the Americans were on foot while the Californios were on horses. On the road to Los Angeles the Californios kept well out in front of the sailors and Marines, stopping every so often to fire back into the column with an ancient cannon. As the Americans attempted to rush them, the Californios easily towed the gun out of range. With nearly a dozen killed and wounded in a few hours, Mervine and Gillespie fell back on San Pedro and re-boarded the *Savannah*.

Stockton and Fremont and his battalion sailed separately for San Pedro on October 14; Stockton intended to teach the insolent Californios a lesson. But unknown to Stockton, Fremont put in at Monterey after encountering the *Vandalia* en route and learning from her Captain that Mervine and Gillespie had been thrown out of Los Angeles. Fremont was determined to add more volunteers to his force, and more important, to equip them with horses so they could match the Californios in mobility. Ignorant of this, Stockton went ashore at San Pedro, but was deceived by Jose Carillo, who had taken command away from Flores, into believing that a whole army of mounted Californios barred his way. With no knowledge of Fremont's whereabouts, Stockton felt forced to re-embark and sail for San Diego. Had he stayed, he would have found that Carillo proposed to discuss the end of hostilities. San Diego had first been occupied by Merritt of the Bear Flaggers in September. He'd been driven out by the Californios, and the town had been retaken only two weeks earlier by a detachment of sailors sent down from Los Angeles by Mervine.

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San Diego

Stockton arrived at San Diego on October 31 and disembarked Gillespie and his volunteers. Here Stockton learned for the first time that Fremont had put back into Monterey, and was now awaiting his commander's return. With San Diego safely in American hands, Stockton and Mervine both sailed for Monterey. On the passage north, Stockton received wrong information that Fremont had already set off overland for Los Angeles, so he put about, and arrived back in San Diego on November 12, where he stayed to establish his headquarters.

The series of defeats inflicted on the Americans at Los Angeles and San Pedro encouraged Prefect Manuel Castro in the North to organize new resistance from a base in San Luis Obispo. He intended to spoil Fremont's plans to enlarge his force and put them on horses. Castro began by advancing north and on November 15 a detachment ambushed Consul Larkin en route from Monterey to San Francisco, and took him prisoner. Larkin, Castro thought, might prove a useful bargaining chip in the power struggle ahead. (Larkin was released at the fall of Los Angeles two months later).

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Next day, east of Monterey, there was a violent clash between about sixty of Castro's men and nearly as many of Fremont's force. In less than half an hour of sharp-shooting and hand-to-hand fighting, both sides suffered half-a-dozen killed and wounded. But the majority of Californios in the North were realizing that there was now no chance that the Americans would be evicted from their country. They wearied of the fight and looked for settled conditions to return to their farming and cattle-raising under any stable administration: Californian, Mexican, or American, they cared little. Their main grievance came from the appropriation of everything useful to Fremont's men, especially horses. It was no consolation to be told that the seizures were necessary to protect them from their fellow Californios. There was great relief when Fremont and his army of "liberators" moved south at the end of November.

In appalling weather – the same storm system that was drenching Kearny's Dragoons 250 miles away on their passage from Warner's to San Pasqual – Fremont's column struggled through floods and mud-slides to San Luis Obispo, and over the mountains to Santa Barbara. The story of Fremont's march towards Los Angeles, his strange Treaty of Cohuenga with Californios who had capitulated to Kearny and Stockton three days earlier, his conflict of authority with Kearny and his downfall, must be told another time.

Before he could reconquer California, Kearny first had to conquer the desert. On November 26 each man was ordered to cut a sheaf of the tough desert grass to feed the mules on the journey, and lash it behind his saddle. At mid-afternoon their route dropped down into a dried river bed where they found another old water-hole. It took eight hours of exhausting effort to deepen the hole 20 feet and to open another nearby, but the harsh desert gave up enough water to fill each man's kettle and two buckets for each mule and horse. By then, some of the animals had not been watered for more than two days.

continued from page 9

Day three on the desert took them through a waterless area that would one day become the lush Imperial Valley. The soft sands, inadequate food and water, and over two months on the march now took an increasingly heavy toll of the mules and few remaining horses. For a while some of the weaker animals could be persuaded to keep moving with one Dragoon pushing and one pulling, but this quickly tired the men. Many animals were turned loose; most stayed where they fell, but a few straggled along behind the column, adding their cries to the patient animals that plodded alongside the Dragoons and Engineers.

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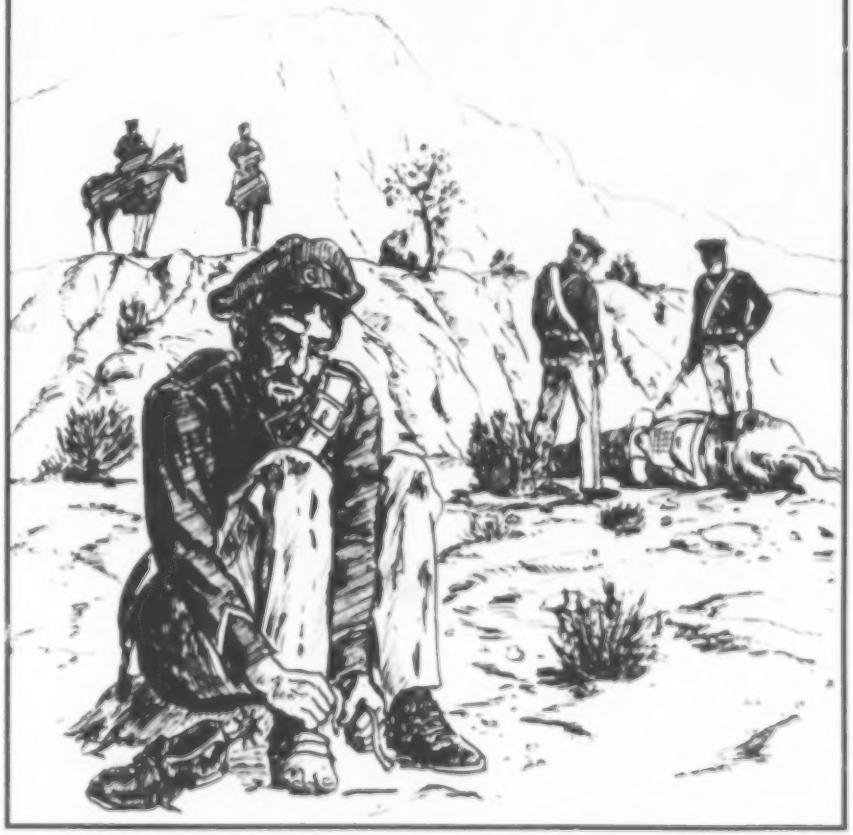
Next day carried them into Carrizo Gorge and the San Felipe valley. Pools of brackish water gave some relief, but the greatest need was food. At least one mule had already been secretly slaughtered by the Dragoons, and now a precious horse had to be sacrificed to keep the men on their feet. The Dragoons' uniforms hung in shreds and cactus tore at their bare legs. Boots had split open and had to be bound up to give some protection from the hot stones and sand.



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On the morning of December 2, the Army of the West saw large trees for the first time since leaving the United States, and soon they came in sight of Warner's Ranch. From a distance the Army had the appearance of a large band of brigands, for the men could see Indian ranch-hands frantically dispersing cattle into the valleys behind the ranch. They found that Warner himself was a prisoner of the Americans at San Diego, on the grounds that he was unsympathetic to the American take-over. The place was in the charge of another American named Marshall. After their desert journey, Warners' trees and grass deeply impressed the Americans, and at last there was enough food; Emory recorded in his diary that seven of his men ate a whole sheep at one sitting.

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Marshall informed Kearny that 15 miles along the road to San Diego was the ranch of an English-born naturalized Mexican named Edward Stokes; he would be able to clarify the war situation in California. When summoned, Stokes confirmed that with the exception of San Diego, California was indeed under the control of the "country people." He agreed to carry a letter from Kearny to the American commander, Commodore Robert Stockton. Later that day the Army learned of a herd of horses and mules belonging to Antonio Coronel, a prominent Los Angeles resident, about 15 miles in the direction of Los Angeles. Davidson, Carson, and a party of Dragoons set off at nightfall. They returned next day with about 75 horses and mules, but only about 30 were found to be broken and serviceable.

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On the 4th, refreshed by the food and rest but soaked in icy rain, the column trudged south for Stokes' Santa Ysabel ranch. Here they found more food and shelter, and again Emory commented in his diary on the plight of the Indians, who huddled naked, as near as they could to the Army's fires. At Warners' Emory had learned that the Indians had been virtual slaves under the mission fathers, but since desecularization a decade earlier, their treatment under their new masters was even harsher.

The letter that Stokes carried to San Diego was Stockton's first news of Kearny's presence in the country. The naval commander immediately sent off a force headed by Marine Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie, supported by Lieutenant Beale of the Navy, a dozen sailors, and 26 volunteer riflemen under Captain Gibson. Under the watchful eyes of the Californios, the Americans followed the San Diego riverbed, then struck north through Mission Gorge. They rested a few hours at the Cajon Ranch (present day Lakeside) then pushed on to Stokes' Santa Maria Ranch at Ramona.

It began to rain heavily in the night and next morning Gillespie's column continued northeast in a downpour. The rain lifted about one o'clock in the afternoon and a scout spotted the Army moving towards them from Santa Ysabel. Gillespie ordered the Stars and Stripes to be "given the breeze" to hearten the weary troopers. The two forces, excited to meet fellow Americans so deep in hostile country, exchanged warm greetings at Ballena.

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Gillespie gave Kearny the fateful news that a party of armed Californios were camped six miles west, at the Indian village of San Pasqual. He also passed on Stockton's suggestion that the army commander could "beat up their camp" should he feel disposed. Kearny could have had no illusions about the fitness of his men for battle. But equally true, to avoid a clash by deliberately retracing Gillespie's route to San Diego was unthinkable. Also, being a horse-soldier, the chance of winning useable mounts was irresistible.

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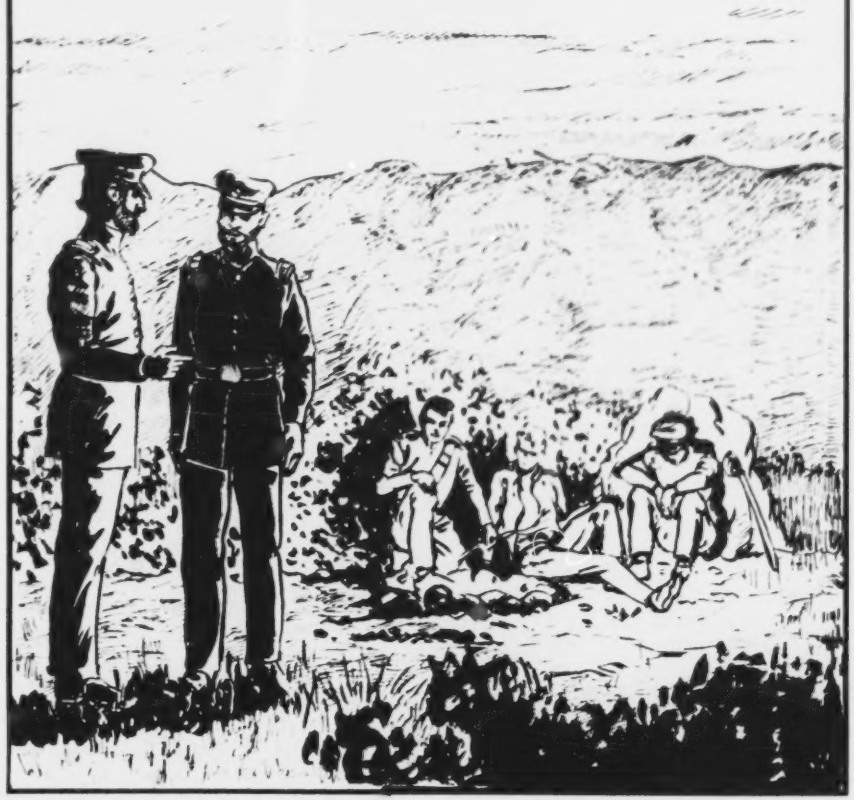
Gillespie too had his doubts about the battle-readiness of Kearny's force. Later that night at their campsite, he watched Dragoons in extremes of exhaustion drop to the ground and fall asleep in their sodden ragged uniforms. But Kearny's enthusiasm mounted. He sent his aide, Captain Johnston, to ask for Gillespie's young guide Rafael Machado to accompany a party of Dragoons on a reconnaissance. Gillespie suggested that a few of Captain Gibson's "mountain men" would be better suited, being able to move with greater stealth, but Kearny dismissed the idea.



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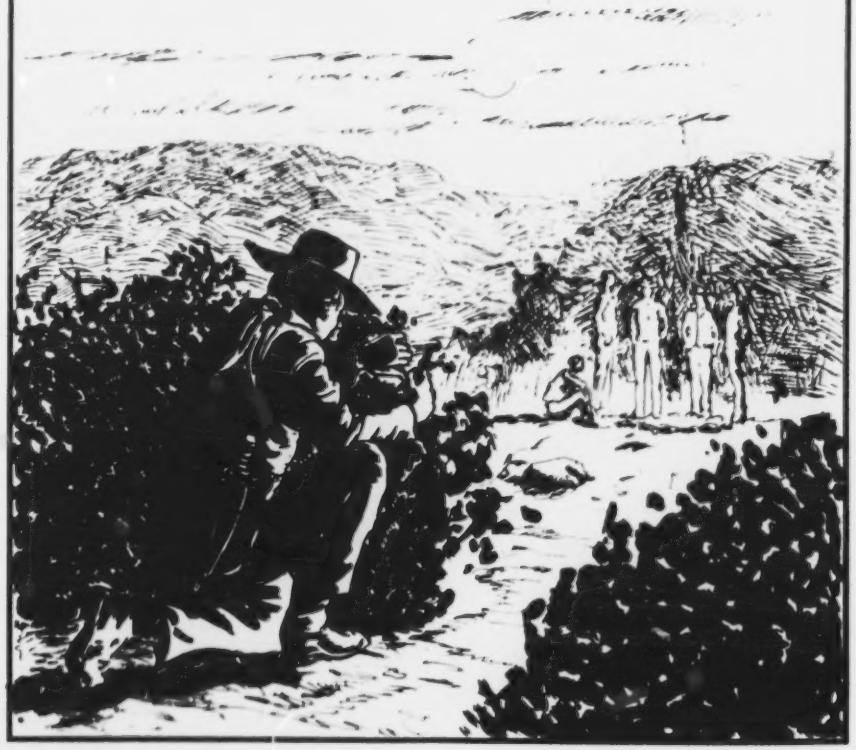
Instead he sent Lieutenant Hammond and six Dragoons with Machado. On the valley floor, Machado left the soldiers and crept up to the village where he could see figures huddled in blankets around the fires. He managed to catch the attention of one of the friendly Indians, but just at that moment a dog caught scent of the Dragoons and began to bark. Machado melted into the darkness as the Californios began shouting challenges. One of them caught a glimpse of riders through a moon-lit break in the clouds, and running forward, found a blanket marked "U.S. Army". Surprise was gone.



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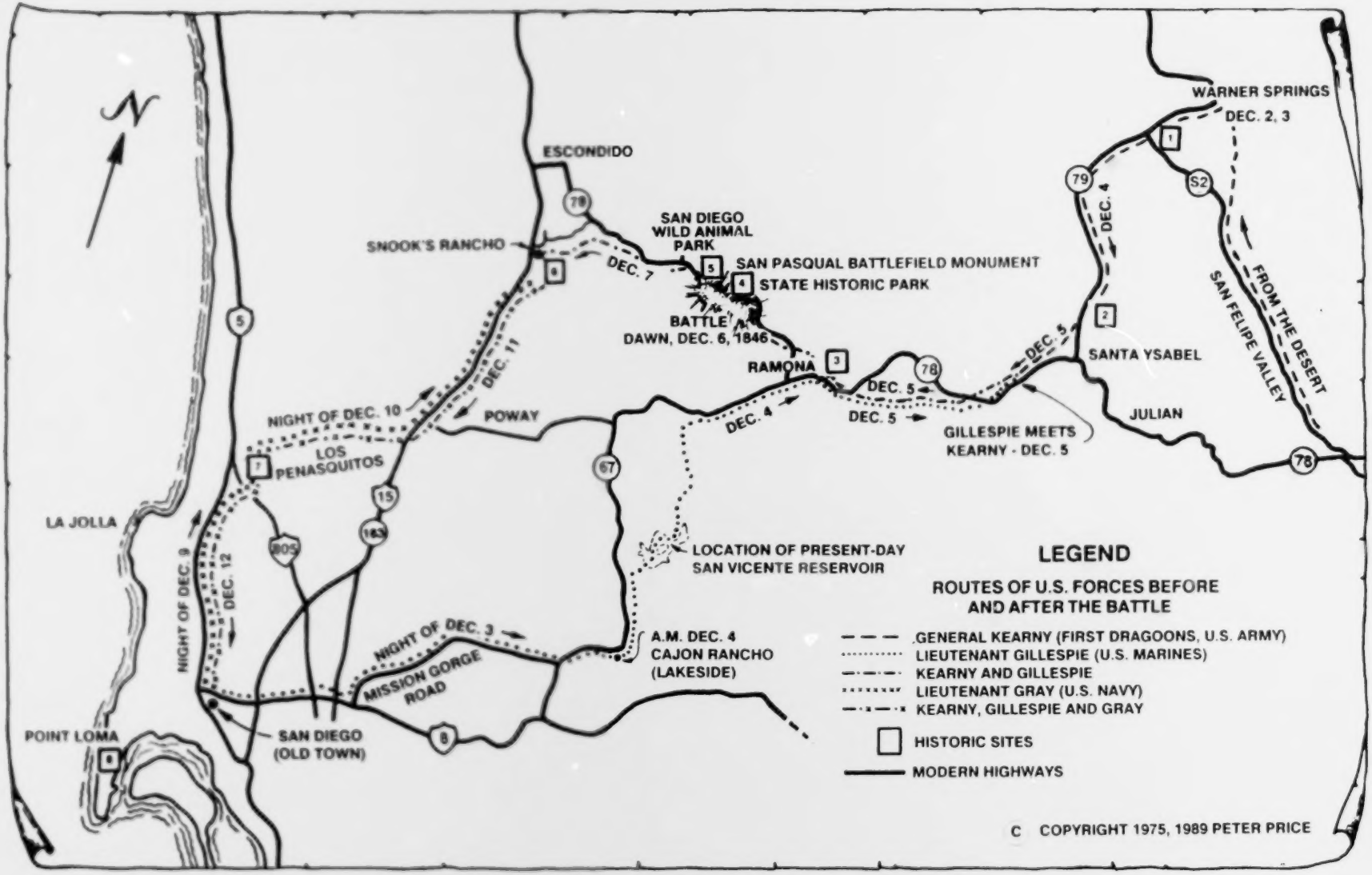
Back at Santa Maria, rain gave way to cold moonlight as the combined American forces saddled up and moved off at two-thirty in the morning of December 6. When they'd first formed up, Gillespie had been irritated by Kearny's order to leave his small field-gun and most of his men in the rear with Major Swords and the baggage train. The Marine had to point out that gun and crew were in excellent order. In sorry contrast, the Army's howitzers were held together with rawhide and looked ready to fall apart at the first shot. Kearny reconsidered and Gillespie's force fell into line. Avoiding canyons and gulleys that would risk the chance of ambush, they retraced Hammond's route to bring them to the valley rim high above the Indian village.

Before beginning the descent to San Pasqual, Kearny halted the column to address the Dragoons and breathe a little life and spirit into his army. They were to be steady and obey implicitly their officer's orders, he told them. Their Country expected them to do their duty; that one thrust of the saber's point was worth any number of cuts. In truth the Dragoons, dazed with fatigue and chilled to the bone in the frosted remnants of their uniforms, could scarcely grip the reins of their mounts.

Kearny took Gillespie aside to lay out the strategy. Captain Moore would lead the charge and surround the village; Gillespie was requested to assist in this. If possible the "insurgents" were to be captured; they were to be shot only if they resisted or tried to escape. As a pale dawn light crept into the sky behind them, the combined force in two columns began to descend into the still-dark mist-enshrouded valley. To Gillespie it seemed that the clanking of the heavy sabers in their scabards would be enough to rouse any unprepared enemy.

The 75 men under Andres Pico were ranchers, not soldiers, but their iron-tipped lances and superb horsemanship made them formidable cavalry. Pico's own sister had watched Gillespie's breakout from San Diego and had sent a warning by messenger. Pico presumed Gillespie was on a livestock search, and had laid his ambush in hopes that the American would make a circular tour and pass through San Pasqual, rather than retrace his steps. But of Pico's aggressive spirit, his countrymen had their doubts. Their horses grazed at a distance from the camp, and Pico declined to hand out ammunition. Nevertheless, Hammond's noisy reconnoiter had forced him into action, so when the sound of hooves was heard on the dark slopes above, the Californios were in the saddle with their lances ready and guns primed.



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1

Although the monument plaque at the Warner Ranch-house records Kearny's passage, camp was actually pitched at Warner Springs to the north, for Emory's diary records that the hot and cold springs were close by and above the house – obviously referring to a different residence. The surviving house is on County Road S2, a mile east of the junction with Highway 79.

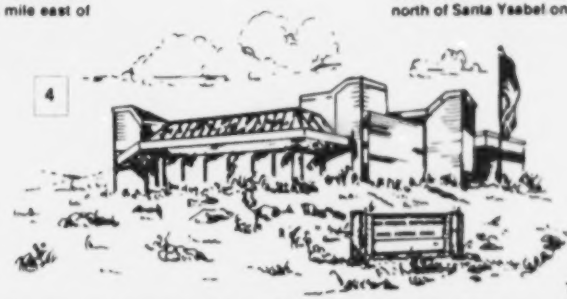
2

At Edward Stokes' Rancho Santa Ysabel, Kearny's Dragoons ate their last hot meal before staggering into battle, drenched and numbed, 36 hours later. Only the foundations of the original mission buildings, ceded to Stokes in 1844, can be traced. Today's Mission lies one mile north of Santa Ysabel on Highway 79.

3

Stokes' Santa Maria Ranch-house was derelict up to the summer of 1975. It was then restored, and is again a private home. Gillespie camped here on December 4th, and again the following night, while Kearny camped two miles west. The house is on the north side of Highway 78, and one and a half miles east of Ramona.

4



The window of the new San Pasqual State Historic Park Visitor Center looks out on the battlefield, over a large illuminated map which tells of the ebb and flow of the fierce conflict. "Mr. Polk's War" is screened periodically through the day. The Park is on Highway 78 about two miles east of the Wild Animal Park.

5

The site of Kearny's camp after the battle is believed to be the south-facing slope where the battle-monument has been erected. Nearby, the dead were buried for the first time. The monument borders Highway 78, seven miles east of Interstate 15.

6

Looking north across Lake Hodges from the historic marker on Highland Valley Road, "old" Mule Hill is the small rocky knoll to the right. The true Mule Hill was identified in 1970 from spurs, buttons, etc., left by Kearny, and found by U.S. Marines. It is the larger hill to the left, guarded by two outcrops of rock. According to Emory's map, it was between these two rock-pilles that the Americans seized the hill. The star fix in Emory's journal records the location with extreme accuracy.

7

The drawing depicts the ruin of the Alvarado Ranch-house as it appeared in 1975. Today the two remaining stumps of wall are protected by a specially-erected roof. The site lies at the western end of Los Penesquitos Canyon. At this, their final camp, Lieutenant Gray protested to Kearny at the plundering of the livestock by the Dragoons.

8

After four burials, the gallant dead of San Pasqual are finally at rest in the U.S. Military Cemetery on Point Loma, a little south of the Bennington Monument. The memorial tablet, bearing the inscription, "They fought a good fight" is set in a stone taken from the battlefield.

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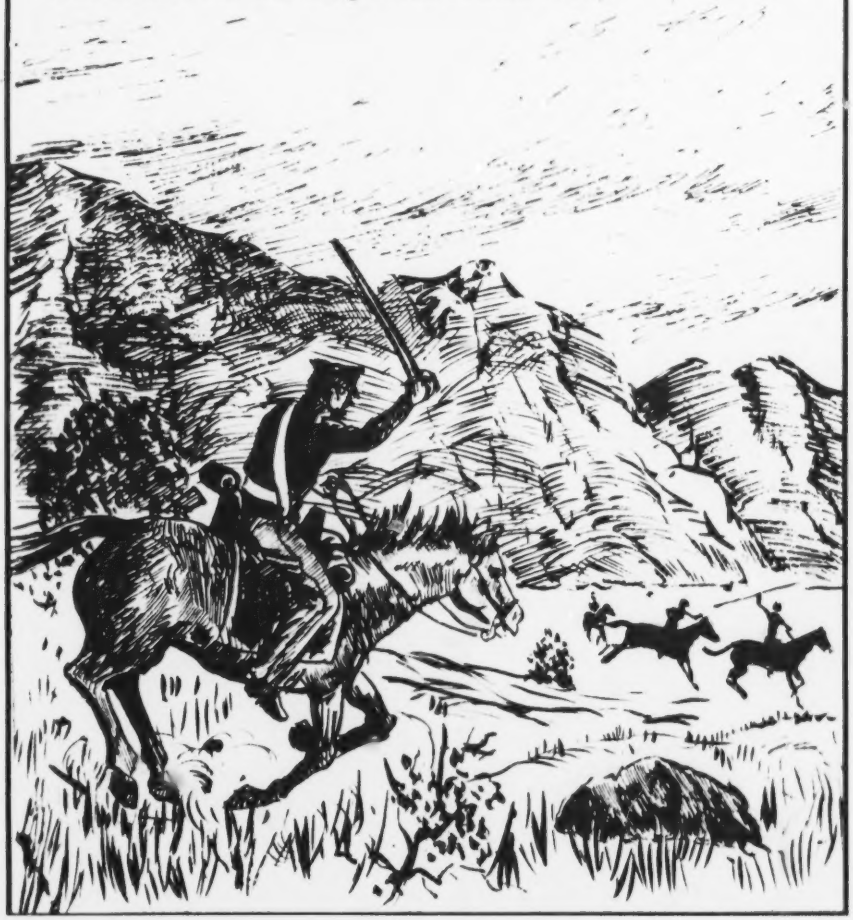
Although Kearny had nominated Moore to be in charge of the attack, it was Johnston and 12 Dragoons on the strongest mounts that worked their way to the front. With him were the General and Carson. Next came Moore with another 50 Dragoons. Then Gillespie and the San Diego contingent, followed by Davidson and the howitzers. Major Swords and the pack train brought up the rear. As the first group reached the valley floor, Kearny gave the order to "Trot!." Johnston either misheard or was carried away with the prospect of battle. Pulling his saber, he gave the order "Charge!," and galloped towards the Californios.

The Californios had been ordered, "One shot and then the lance!." As Johnston's troop came out of the mists they opened fire. Johnston tumbled from the saddle, shot through the head. Dispersed by the force of the Dragoons' charge the Californios fanned out, sheathing their firearms and tucking their lances firmly under their arms.

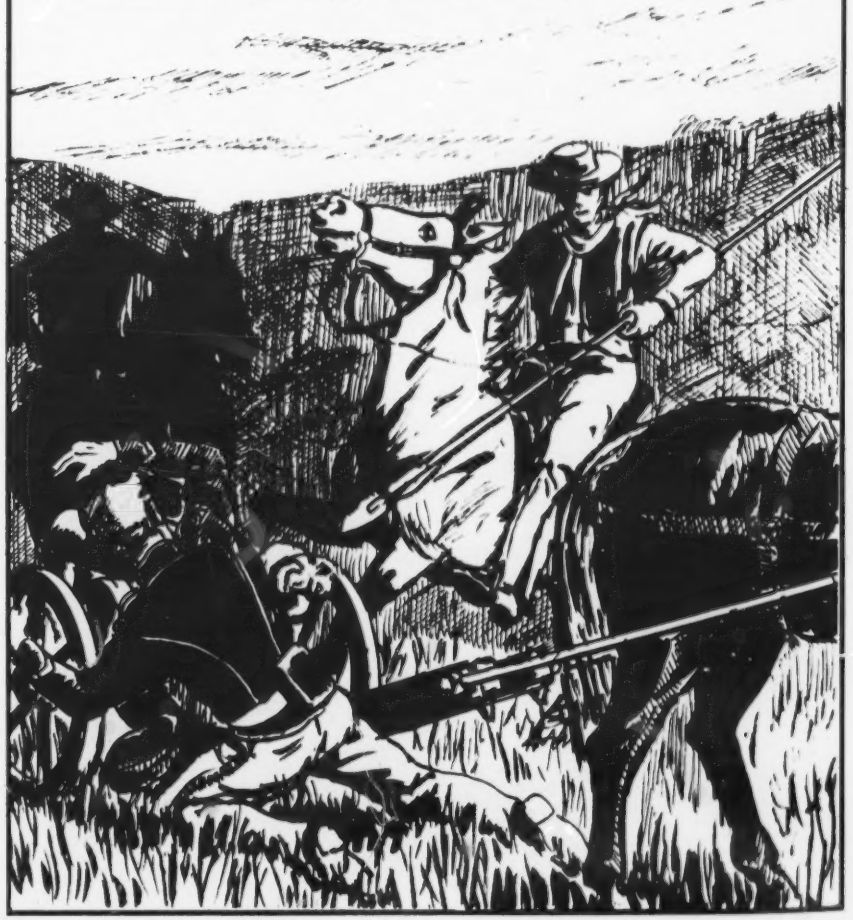
Moore's troop reached level ground and began to jog after Johnston's squad. If any of the Dragoons gave a thought to using their Hall carbines, it was quickly dismissed. The cartridges were swollen with damp, it was dark, and their mounts were too unsteady to allow them to insert a percussion cap in the breech. They drew their sabers or grasped their carbines as clubs.

As he brought the San Diego contingent off the hillside, Gillespie could see through the lifting darkness that the Americans' attack was disintegrating, but adhering to the rule of graduating a charge to the slowest mount, he kept his force grouped, working them towards the south rim of the valley to come into line on the left of Moore's squad. Before he could do so, Moore was charging away. Gillespie's action flushed out several Californios attempting to outflank the Americans. One of them was Pablo Vejar, Pico's lieutenant, who was taken prisoner. Then, with Captain Gibson at his side, Gillespie rode after the Dragoons.

After the first clash Pico had wheeled his men and galloped west down the valley. The sheer number of men in the American force, and their strange uniforms, had taken him by surprise. On their superior mounts, the Californios quickly drew away from their pursuers and stopped after about a mile (just beyond the site of the battle monument, close to the entrance to the San Diego Wild Animal Park).



Davidson's howitzers came down onto the field but the mule pulling one of them balked. Before the frantic driver could get the terrified animal moving again, two of Pico's men were upon him. The Dragoon slid off the mule and tried to find shelter under the gun limber, but was an easy target for the probing lances. The Californios shot the mule, cut the traces, and hauled the gun away with their lariats.



Pico's regrouped men could now see the tattered condition of their pursuers. The Dragoons still came on doggedly, but the fading strength of their mounts spaced them into smaller and smaller groups. The Californios swept down on them. In the face of this onslaught and bewildered by the sudden loss of contact with their leaders, the Dragoons turned away. Gillespie, coming up from the opposite side of the valley saw this was certain death.

"Rally men! For God's sake rally! Face them! Face them!." But the Dragoons were demoralized. Both Gillespie and Carson, whose horse had fallen heavily in the first minutes of the charge and was out of the combat, had assured them that the Californios would flee when attacked. Yet here were adversaries fighting back like well-drilled regulars.

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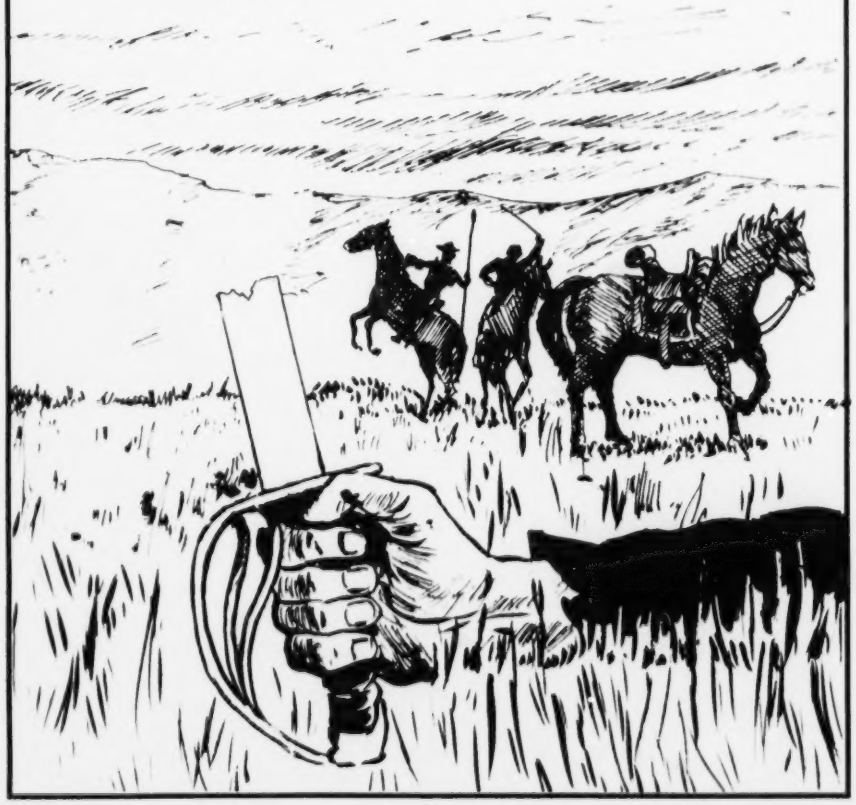
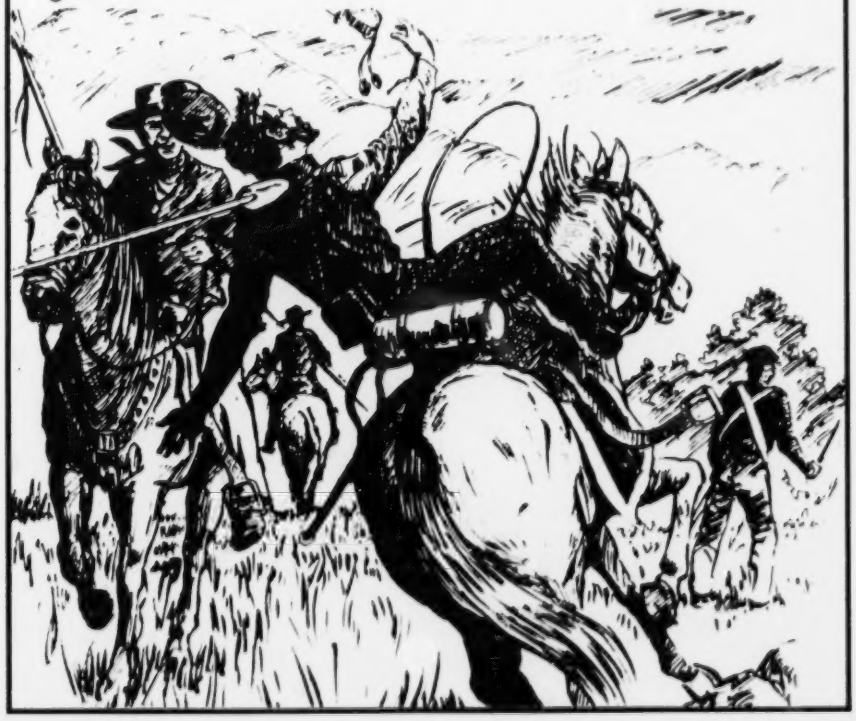
Captain Moore, well out in front of his troop, came face to face with Pico. He fired his pistol and missed, then swung his saber without effect. At that moment two other Californios galloped up and felled Moore with their lances. The dying Moore slipped from the saddle, breaking his saber at the hilt as he hit the ground. Another rider fired his pistol into the prostrate figure. Moore's hand still held fast to his saber when he was picked up after the battle. Hammond had tried to intervene to save his brother-in-law but he too was overwhelmed and took a mortal wound in the chest.



212

Gillespie's attempt to rally the Dragoons had brought him in clear view of the Californios for the first time. They recognized their enemy from the Los Angeles victory and four lancers lunged at him. "Here's Gillespie men! Get him!." Parrying with his saber, Gillespie pressed down on the back of his horse and tried to break through, but a blow from behind caught his collar and threw him out of the saddle. As he rolled over to face his attackers a lance inflicted a flesh wound to his back. Another Californio came up and caught the Marine a glancing blow that slit his lip and broke a tooth. With many assailants so eager for the kill that they blocked each other, Gillespie miraculously clambered to his feet and escaped into the gloom.



213

Dragoons and Gillespie's men from San Diego were now scattered across the battlefield. The Dragoons had met the San Diegans only the day before and had little contact with them. Gibson's men were not in military uniform and in the heat and confusion of the fight were easily mistaken for Californios. One was almost cleaved by a Dragoon's saber, another almost brained by a wildly swung carbine.

214

The individual clashes that developed as the Californios attacked were one-sided and the outcome always the same. The Dragoon would desperately swing his carbine or saber to fend off the lance but the Californio would swing his horse behind the soldier's tottering mule and thrust his lance into the man's back.

215

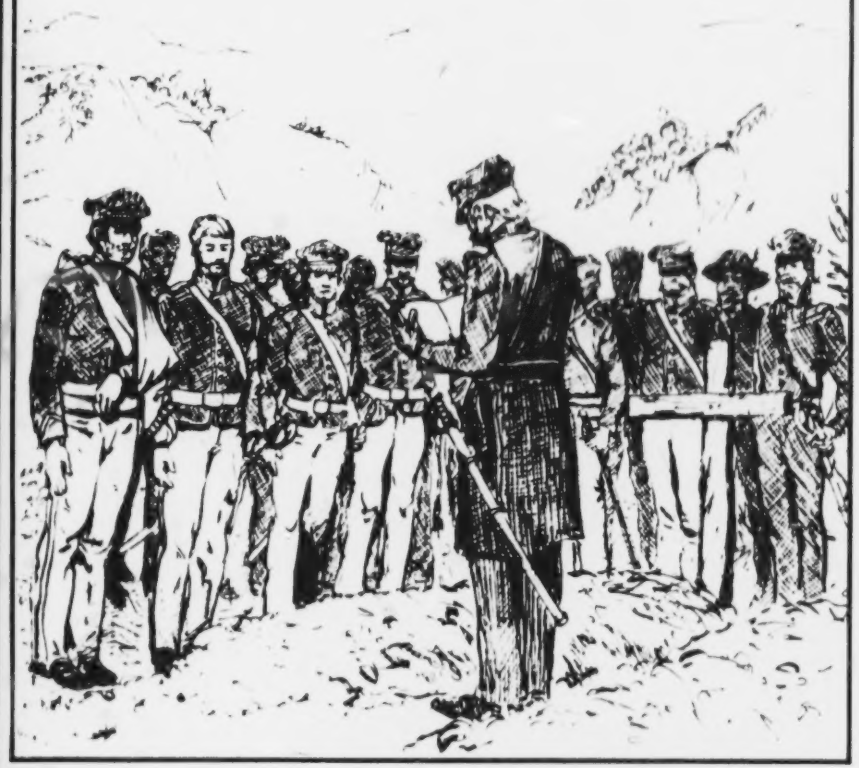
The unequal fight ended as abruptly as it began. It seemed that Pico, still ignorant of the full size of the force he was engaging and beating, and seeing more Americans arriving on the field with at least two big guns, decided his luck could not hold. He gathered his men and cantered away down the valley to the west, leaving only one prisoner. Fewer than 50 Americans had come face to face with the enemy. Sixteen men and two officers were dead. Lieutenant Hammond would succumb within two hours. Sergeant Cox would die four days later. Sixteen others including Kearny himself were wounded, one man so seriously he would die later in San Diego. The Californios left no dead on the battlefield. The number of their wounded remains a mystery.

216

Despite his wounds and the havoc wreaked on his army, Kearny at first wanted to follow the enemy. The dead were lashed to mules, but many of the wounded were too weak to sit the saddle. Wiser counsel prevailed and Kearny turned over temporary command to Captain Turner. Turner prepared a letter to Stockton telling him of the battle with a "very considerable Mexican force" and listing the casualties. He asked for a force to meet them on the route to San Diego, with provisions and transport for the wounded. Antoine (Alex) Godey and three others from the San Diego force set off for help.

217

Watched from across the valley by the Californios, the Americans formed a fortified camp around the wounded. In preparation for the march next day, sleds were made for transporting the wounded using willow poles and buffalo robes. Surgeon Griffin worked all day with meager supplies, dressing and binding wounds. Most of the injured bore multiple injuries; one man had been pierced eight times. After dark the 19 dead were buried in a mass grave heaped with stones to keep the coyotes from digging up the corpses.



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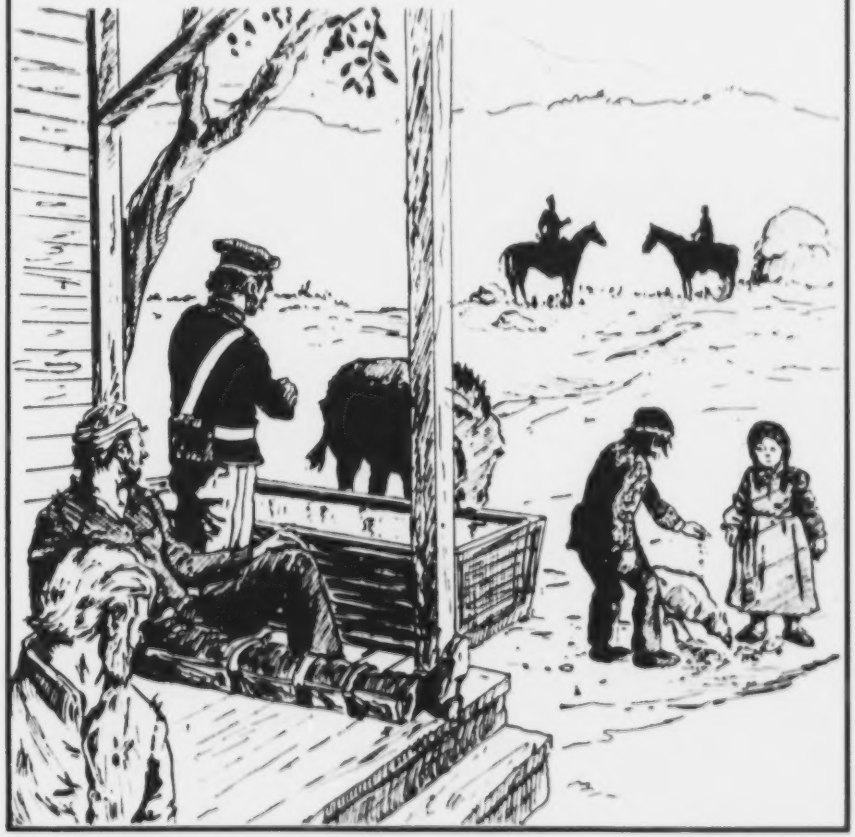
The morning after the battle Kearny was recovered enough to remount and resume command. Still under the eyes of the hovering Californios, the column moved slowly west, with the wounded and the pack animals in the center. Instead of following the valley which would have given Pico the chance of another charge in full force, Kearny followed the cart track that kept close to the northern hillsides.

219

Around two in the afternoon they emerged from between the low hills and turning south came on the ranch of an English sea captain, Joseph Snook. The place was deserted except for a few Indians, who told the Americans that the Californios had only recently departed with their wounded. They rested briefly, watering the mules and taking some chickens for the sick. What few cattle could be rounded up were taken along.



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They'd moved only a few hundred feet when the Californios suddenly galloped up from behind, splitting into two lines as they came. The Americans, encumbered by the wounded, made what haste they could towards the protection of a hill to their left but before they could make the base, one group of about 30 Californios mounted to the top and began firing down. The Dragoons fired back and Lieutenant Emory, unscathed by the previous days conflict took a detachment and drove the enemy off the summit, wounding several.

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The American wounded and the guns were painfully dragged to the small plateau on top, and some of the many smaller boulders rearranged to form a defensive position. For the moment the Americans were safe, but the cattle had been lost in the skirmish. On the hill the Army of the West was trapped and starving. The only hope was rescue by Stockton.

222

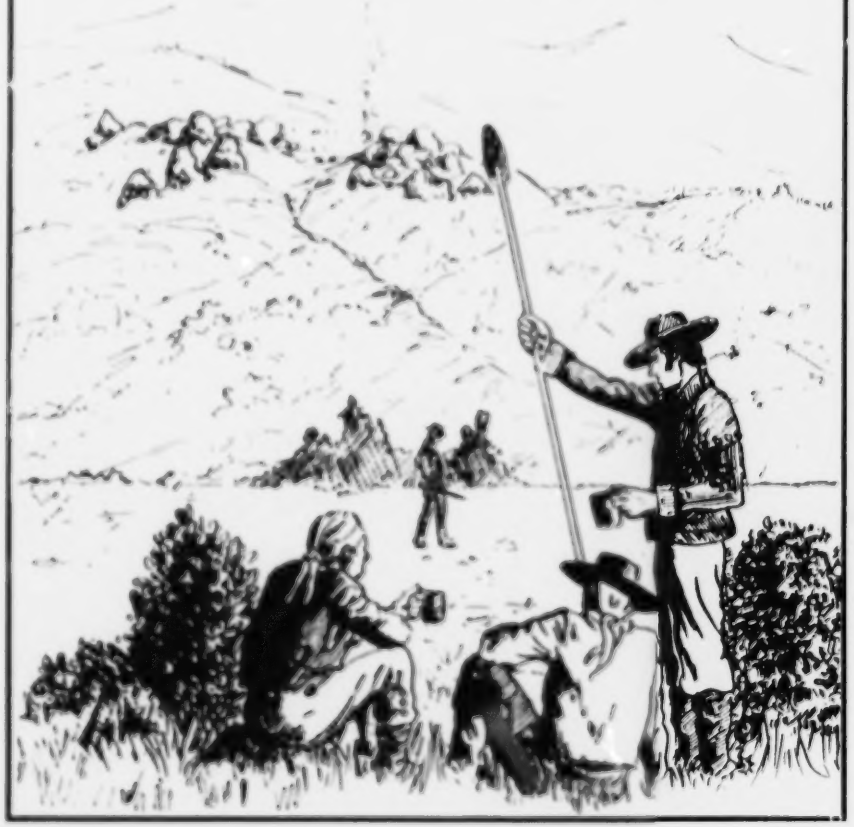
They passed a miserably cold night, and on the morning of the 8th anxiously scanned the horizon for signs of rescue. Two more mules had to be sacrificed for food. From the Californios' camp came riders bearing a flag of truce. The Californios announced they had four American prisoners to exchange. Kearny had of course only one, Pablo Vejar. Emory rode off with him to neutral ground where he met Andres Pico himself with Thomas Burgess, one of the four who'd set off for San Diego for help after the battle!

223

Burgess told them that all four had got through and delivered Turner's letter. Just before being captured on their way back they had hidden Stockton's response which told Kearny no help could be spared. Stockton was in fact putting a relief force together, but he was hampered by lack of wheeled transport for the wounded and the fact that Gillespie had taken virtually all the horses and mules on the first mission. Above all, Stockton wondered, what did Turner mean by a "considerable force" of the enemy? He could not march into a trap.

224

At the American camp, the situation was deteriorating by the hour. On a diet of stringy mule-meat, which was to give the hill its name, and what little water that seeped into holes scooped out of the ground, even the fittest were growing weaker. While it was true that Pico was unlikely to mount a cavalry charge up the hill into a hail of fire from well over a hundred entrenched men, it was equally obvious that time was on Pico's side: he could starve the Americans out, especially now that he had found Stockton's reply.



225

Kearny, Carson and Gillespie agreed that there must be another attempt to convince Stockton that without his help, the Army of the West and Gillespie's force faced further heavy casualties, possibly annihilation. Lieutenant Beale of the Navy, Kit Carson, and an Indian scout volunteered to try when darkness fell at the end of the second day. Kearny was reluctant to let Carson go but was persuaded it was a risk that had to be taken.

226

Virtually every scrap of food in camp had already been eaten. Kearny himself directed the cook to bake the handful of flour that was left into a loaf to sustain Beale on his journey. The gallant officer declined and instead scraped a few burnt peas and grains of corn from the campfire ashes. Carson and the Indian scout took a few slivers of mule meat.

227

At first light, the three hundred rescued and rescuers slowly descended Mule Hill and by evening were at the Ruiz-Alvarado ranch at the western end of the Penasquitos canyon. Here they stayed for the night and over the protests of Lieutenant Gray the famished Army took a large toll of the livestock. Down through Rose Canyon and by False Bay (Mission Bay) the column plodded on next day, finally entering San Diego in pouring rain at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, 78 days after leaving Santa Fe. For most, the greatest ordeal of their lives was over, but barely 2 weeks later, Kearny, Turner and Emory and 57 Dragoons were part of the force that marched north to the Battles of San Gabriel and Los Angeles to complete their mission to conquer California.

EPILOGUE

Assistant-Surgeon Griffin's observation neatly summed up San Pasqual: "This was an action where decidedly more courage than conduct was shown." Coming only two years before Kearny's death, the debacle has cast a shadow over a military career that had opened thirty-four years earlier with a mention for gallantry at Queenston Heights in the War of 1812.

The Battle has engaged military historians as often as many more titanic conflicts. The question persists: why would a seasoned soldier attack an enemy already alerted, in the dark, on ground that his foe was familiar with and he was not? Desperation to take the enemy's renowned horses and re-mount his Dragoons is a possibility, though "desperation" does not fit with Kearny's behavior before or after. Supreme contempt for his adversary as a fighter is the most likely explanation. Kearny knew from Gillespie that the Californios were farmers on horseback. Carson would have told him about the unopposed seizure of Los Angeles in August, and Kearny's own experience on the march to Santa Fe, where opposition melted like snow in the desert, would have blinded him to the possibility of real resistance.

Evidence of Kearny's thinking had shown itself only two weeks earlier, as the Army of the West approached California. On November 22 they'd come across the tracks of a huge number of horses which were first assumed to be reinforcements gathered by General Castro. Kearny's reaction was a plan to locate the enemy and attack at nightfall to hide his numerical disadvantage. In Kearny's mind surprise counted for everything.

Certainly, the state of unreadiness of Pico's men at San Pasqual could have spelled success for the surprise attack advocated by Captain Moore. But Kearny delayed, and Hammond's blundering patrol alerted the Californios and cost the brothers-in-law their lives.

A more imaginative plan would have had the frontiersmen in Gillespie's San Diego force work their way down into the valley, then pin the Californios down with gun-fire, keeping them away from their horses while Kearny mounted his cavalry charge. On foot and defending themselves with unwieldy lances, the Californios would have been quickly subdued. But from the outset, Kearny deliberately minimized Gillespie's potential contribution and placed his own weakened men and mounts in front. Finaliy, there was the tragic confusion over the commands, "Trot!" and "Charge!", when only a handful of Dragoons had made their way down onto the valley floor.

San Pasqual poses other intriguing questions. What of the story that Stokes' wine had played a part in the Army's downfall? Writing to a newspaper in 1868 Gillespie vigorously denounced the slur, and while we accept his word that there was no wine at Santa Maria, he had not been with them the previous night at Santa Ysabel, when some canteens might have been filled with wine. But now that modern research has uncovered so many more facts than were known to those who made the allegations, it is clear that under the conditions a massacre was assured, wine or no wine.

Did the Californios emerge as unscathed as they claimed? Surgeon Griffin remarked that his offer to treat their wounded was turned down by Pico, and the Indians at Snook's Ranch told Kearny the Californios had just evacuated their wounded.

Whose victory was it? In terms of casualties, the Californio ranchers dealt the Army a crushing defeat; yet in Kearny's reports, the Californios withdrew from the field of battle, so the victory was his.

In conflicts big and small, past and future, the first casualty of war is indeed Truth.

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Dos Califo

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ifornios

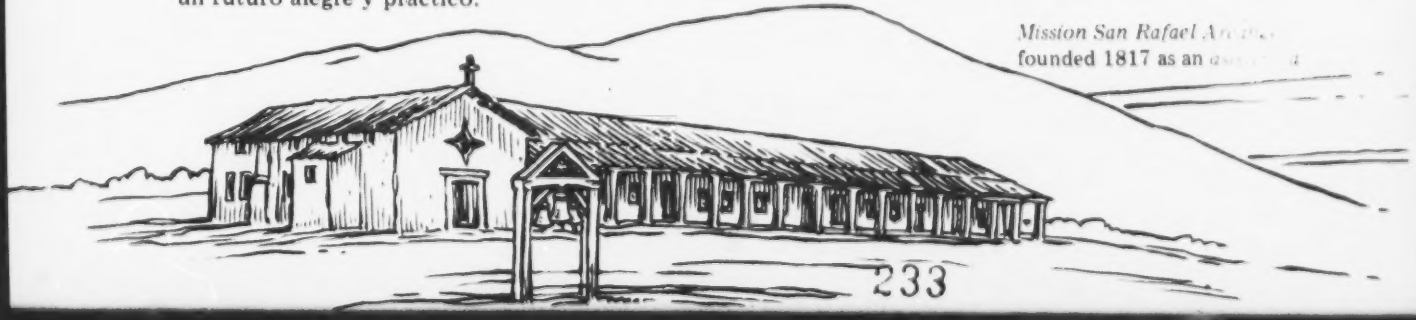
Mission San Francisco Solano,
founded 1823 by Padre Altimira

Mission San Francisco Solano in Sonoma was the last mission founded in California, the twenty-first, in 1823, after this story is over. But our next, *Rosie & the Bear Flag,* takes place all around it. If you like California adventure, you will surely enjoy that book. This mission was at first called *New* San Francisco, because Padre Altimira wanted to move the mission of San Francisco to warmer, healthier Sonoma; but powers above him did not allow the closing up of *Old* San Francisco. So there became two San Francisco missions, the older, of course, named for Saint Francis of Asissi, was called Mission Dolores so it wouldn't be confused with the new mission San Francisco, named for a saint of the Indies. The name Dolores was used because the mission was founded along the Arroyo de Nuestra Señora de lós Dolores.

La misión de San Francisco Solano, en Sonoma, fue la última que se fundó en California, la veintiuna, en 1823, cuando esta historia había concluido. Pero la próxima, *Rosie and the Bear Flag (Rosie y la bandera del Oso)* tiene lugar en torno a ella. Si te gusta la aventura californiana, indudablemente disfrutarás con ese libro. Al principio esta misión se llamó *Nuevo* San Francisco, porque el Padre José Altimira quería trasladar la misión de San Francisco a Sonoma, más templada y más saludable; pero la autoridad superior no le permitió clausurar el *Antiguo* San Francisco. Así que hubo dos misiones de San Francisco: la antigua, desde luego, que tomó su nombre de San Francisco de Asís, fue llamada Misión de Dolores para que no fuera confundida con la nueva misión de San Francisco, que tomó su nombre de un santo de las Indias. Se utilizó el nombre Dolores porque la misión fue fundada junto al Arroyo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

The next-to-last mission was founded as a hospital in the year before the events that follow—in 1817. At first it was just the *Asistencia* San Rafael Archangel, a branch run by the padres from Mission San Francisco of Asissi, where the Indians were in unhappy health. But when the Indians went to San Rafael, they became better again. It was also conveniently near Ross, where the Russians bought the padres' produce; it soon became a full-fleged mission with a businesslike future.

La penúltima misión se fundó como hospital el año anterior a los sucesos siguientes, en 1817. Al principio era sólo la Asistencia San Rafael Arcángel, una dependencia dirigida por los padres de la Misión de San Francisco de Asís, donde los indios sufrían de mala salud. Pero cuando los indios iban a San Rafael mejoraban otra vez. Estaba también convenientemente cerca de Ross, donde los rusos compraban productos agrícolas de los padres; pronto se convirtió en una misión acabada, con un futuro alegre y práctico.



Mission San Rafael Ar[illegible]
founded 1817 as an [illegible]

DOS CALIFORNIOS

About one of the most important events recorded in the historical annals of Alta California, that cradle of heroes and heroines, in one of the last years of the rule of the King of Spain.

Either I am much mistaken, or this will prove the most famous adventure ever seen.
Inmenso trabajo costó inquirir y buscar todos los archivos.

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El suceso más apasionante de la historia de Alta California bajo el dominio del Rey de España recopilado laboriosamente de polvorientos archivos por Harry Knill *e ilustrado verazmente por* Gregory Irons

One day in October, 1818, a young Californio was riding along the beach near Monterey, the capital of His Catholic Majesty's loyal territory of Alta California. The Spanish Empire forbade its people to trade with anyone not a subject of Spain, and his Majesty's governor, the good Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, had enlisted many Californios to watch the coast for smugglers. The governor particularly disliked the Yankee and Russian ships which cruised off his coast to kill the beautiful sea otters for their skins.

Suddenly the boy's horse shied; the boy reined it in, and saw what the horse had seen—an old sea otter on the rocks, looking too weak to move, with the broken point of a hunting spear sticking from his leg. The boy thought with rage of the plundering strangers who were doing this, and decided to spite them and help the old sea otter by taking it to an old Indian friend at Mission San Carlos, whose medicines cured men and beasts alike.

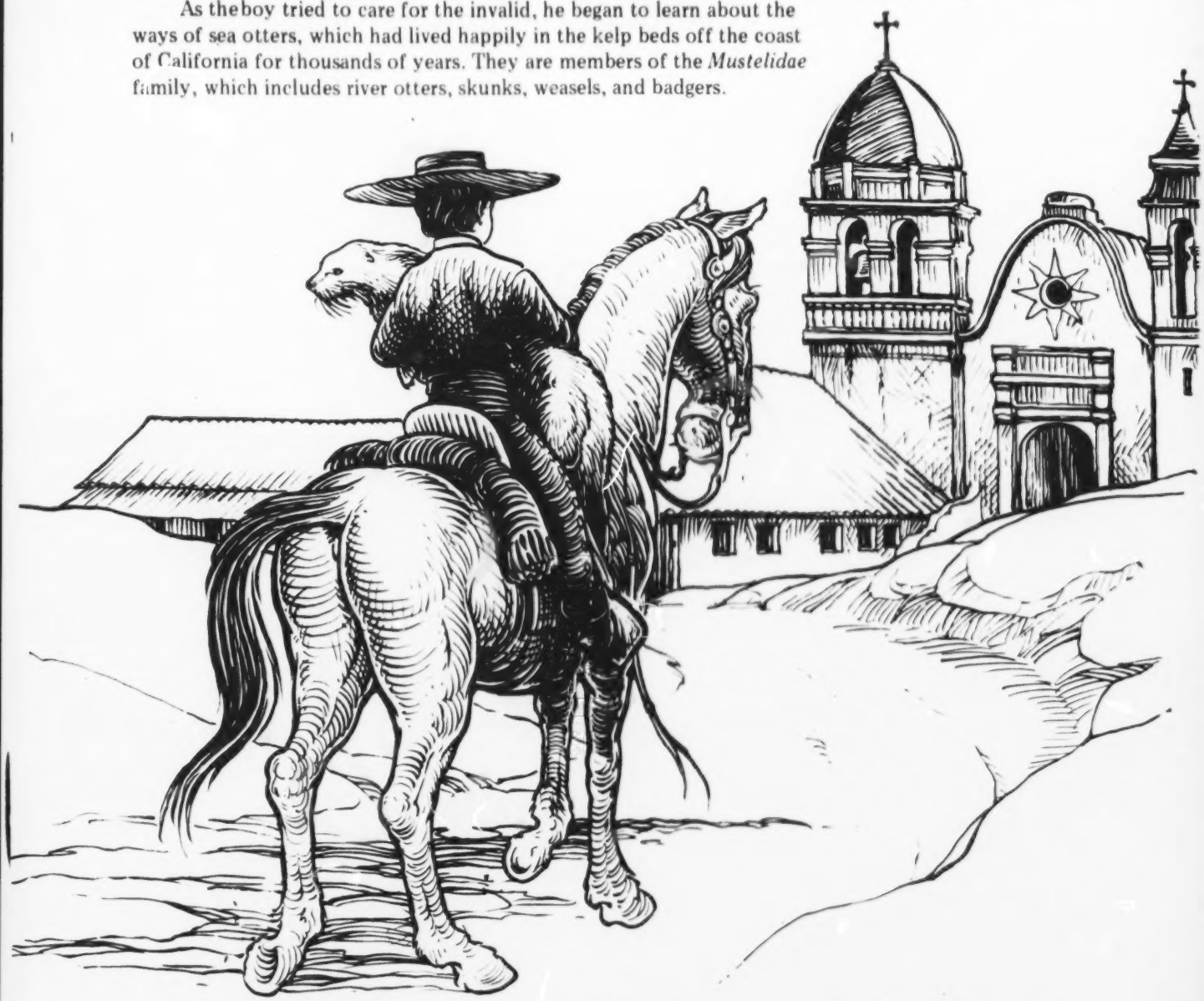
Un día de octubre de 1818 un joven californio cabalgaba por la playa cerca de Monterey, capital de Alta California, el leal territorio de su Católica Majestad. El Imperio Español prohibía que su gente comerciara con alguien que no fuera súbdito de España, y el gobernador de Su Majestad, el bueno de Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, había reclutado a muchos californios para guardar la costa contra los contrabandistas. El gobernador detestaba particularmente los barcos yanquis y rusos que navagaban por su costa para matar las bellas nutrias de mar por sus pieles.

De pronto, el caballo del chico respingo; el chico lo refreno y vio lo que había visto el caballo: una vieja nutria sobre las rocas, demasiado debil como para moverse; un trozo de arpón roto sobresalia de su pata. El chico penso con rabia acerca de los rapaces forasteros que hacian esto y decidió mortificarles y ayudar a la nutria llevandola a un amigo, un viejo indio de la misión de San Carlos, cuyos ensalmos curaban a hombres y bestias por igual.

Mission San Carlos on the Carmel River had once been the favorite residence of Padre Junipero Serra, who founded the missions of Alta California.

The old Indian here decided that what the otter needed was Andre's mule ointment, invented to cure sores on pack mules. It was made of kidney tallow, soot, salt, sulphur, and dried horse manure, well ground up and mixed, and had once had the honor of saving Padre Serra himself. The Indian removed the spearhead, then smeared the ointment on the otter's wound. Soon it began to heal.

As the boy tried to care for the invalid, he began to learn about the ways of sea otters, which had lived happily in the kelp beds off the coast of California for thousands of years. They are members of the *Mustelidae* family, which includes river otters, skunks, weasels, and badgers.



La misión de San Carlos, en el río Carmel, había sido en un tiempo la residencia favorita del Padre Junípero Serra, el fundador de las misiones de Alta California.

El viejo indio decidió que lo que la nutria necesitaba era la pomada de la mula de Andres, inventada para curar llagas de mulas de carga. Estaba hecha de sebo de rinon, hollin, sal, sulfuro, estiércol seco de caballo, todo bien molido y mezclado, y en una ocasion había tenido el honor de salvar al propio Padre Serra. El indio extrajo el arpon y luego unto la pomada en la herida de la nutria. Pronto empezó a sanar.

Conforme el chico trataba de cuidar al invalido, comenzo a aprender las costumbres de las nutrias de mar que habían poblado los lechos de algas de la costa de California durante miles de años. Son miembros de la familia *Mustelidae*, que incluye nutrias de río, mofetas, comadrejas y tejones.

God, who gives the wound, gives the remedy.

Dios, que da la llaga, da la medicina.

Although sea otters weigh up to 100 pounds, they are the smallest mammal to live in the sea, and the only ones not protected from its cold by a thick layer of insulating blubber. Instead the sea otter has a thick waterproof fur made up of 800,000,000 hairs. The fur traps in a blanket of insulating air, so that the otter's skin is never touched by the water. But this air blanket does not insulate the otter as well as a seal's blubber, so the sea otter needs to eat three times as much as a seal—about a quarter of his body's weight each day—to keep warm.

A healthy sea otter hunts its food in the water: it swims with its huge flattened hind feet, and uses its forepaws to gather food and clean its fur. Hunting along the bottom with sharp eyes, it pries shellfish loose from the rocks. Sea otters can use tools, and often use rocks to pry abalones loose, or break shells. A sea otter can store up to 18 clams in the pouch of skin under each foreleg. When he has enough clams, he will swim along the surface on his back, with a rock on his chest against which he breaks shells to eat his stored clams. From time to time he rolls over in the water to wash off the food scraps, because if his coat becomes matted, it will no longer be warm and water-tight.

Sea otters also like octopus, starfish, mussels, and sea urchins, which are full of the chemical biochrome *polyhydroxynaphthoquinone*. Sea otters eat so many sea urchins that this chemical colors their bones purple!

Aunque las nutrias de mar pueden pesar hasta 100 libras, son los mamíferos más pequeños que viven en el mar, y los únicos que no están protegidos del frío por una gruesa capa de grasa aislante. En cambio, la nutria de mar tiene una espesa piel impermeable compuesta de hasta 800,000,000 pelos. La piel atrapa una cubierta de aire aislante de modo que el agua no toca jamas la epidermis de la nutria. Pero esta cubierta de aire no aisla a la nutria tan bien como la grasa de una foca, así que la nutria necesita comer tres veces más que una foca, como un cuarto del peso de su cuerpo al día para mantenerse caliente.

Una nutria sana caza su comida en el agua: nada con sus enormes y aplanados pies traseros, y usa sus patas delanteras para coger comida y limpiar su piel. Cazando por el fondo con agudos ojos, desprende el marisco de las rocas. Las nutrias pueden hacer uso de utensilios, y a menudo usan rocas para desprender orejas marinas o romper conchas. Una nutria puede guardar hasta 18 almejas en la bolsa de piel bajo cada pata delantera. Cuando tiene suficientes almejas nada sobre la superficie de espaldas, con una piedra en su pecho contra la que rompe las conchas de las almejas almacenadas. De cuando en cuando se voltea en el agua para lavarse las sobras de comida, porque si su capa se enreda, dejará de ser caliente y hermética.

A las nutrias les gustan también los pulpos, las estrellas de mar, los mejillones y los erizos de mar, que están llenos del producto químico biocromático *polyhydroxynaphthoquinone*. Las nutrias de mar comen tantos erizos de mar que este producto químico colorea sus huesos de purpura.

After a hearty meal, the sea otter washes himself thoroughly, then settles down to sleep, floating on his back in the kelp beds, just off rocky points or in large bays. Sometimes he even pulls kelp across his body, like a blanket.

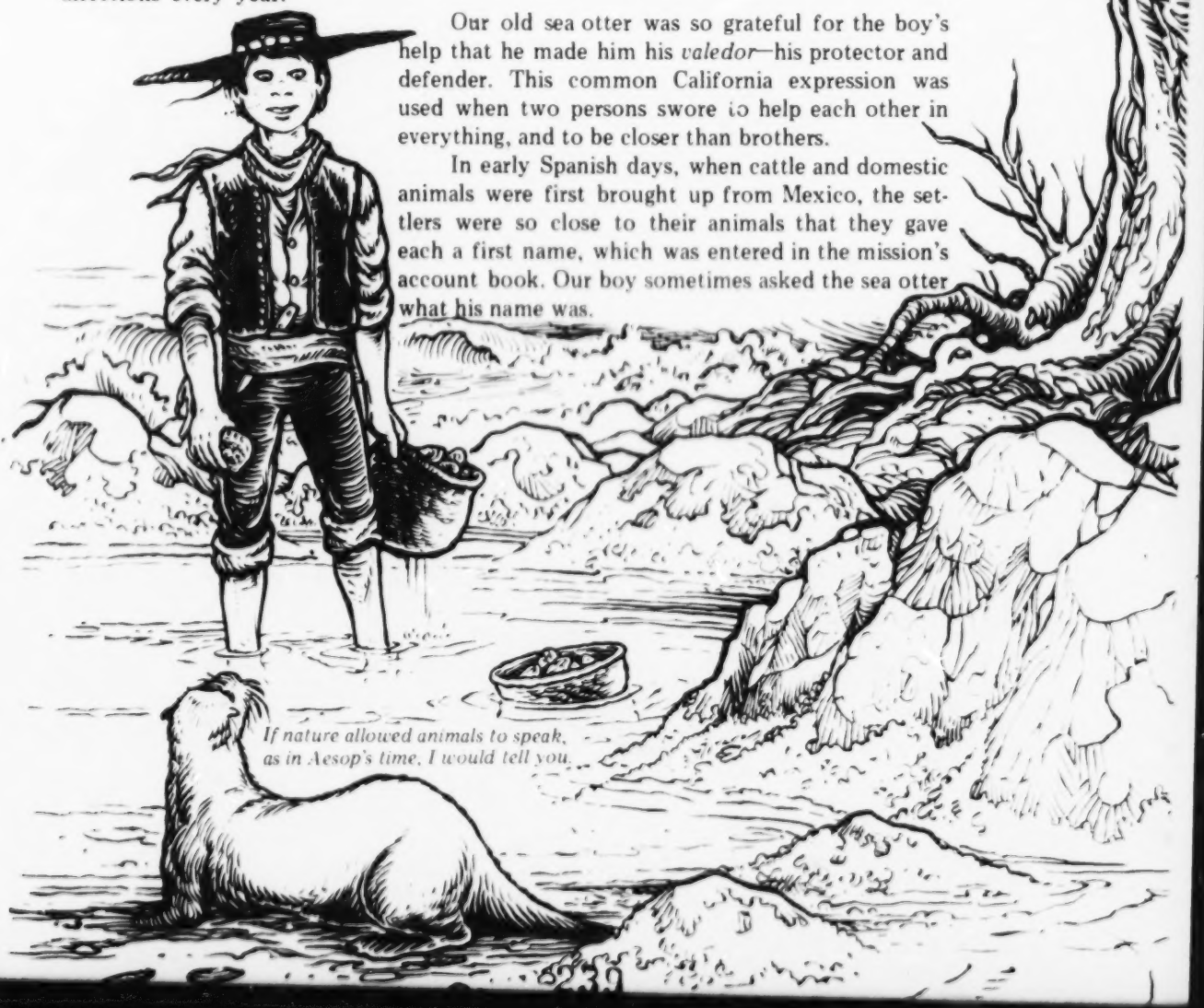
Our Californio found that the old sea otter would eat from his hand, but needed nearly 20 pounds of food a day, and had to be near the water to keep his fur clean. He preferred to eat in the water.

He had learned from nearby Esselen Indians what to feed the otter. They showed him how to gather shellfish on the beach when the tide was out, and he kept very busy finding enough clams to feed his hungry friend.

The sea otter was hunted so severely that by the twentieth century it was nearly extinct. In 1911 an international treaty banned hunting them. As the sea otter has few natural enemies other than man, they have increased, and now there are about 2,000 in California; their number increases about 5% a year. They can be seen from Santa Cruz in the north to Avila in the south and extend their range about five miles in both directions every year.

Our old sea otter was so grateful for the boy's help that he made him his *valedor*—his protector and defender. This common California expression was used when two persons swore to help each other in everything, and to be closer than brothers.

In early Spanish days, when cattle and domestic animals were first brought up from Mexico, the settlers were so close to their animals that they gave each a first name, which was entered in the mission's account book. Our boy sometimes asked the sea otter what his name was.



If nature allowed animals to speak, as in Aesop's time, I would tell you.

Tras una voraz comida, la nutria se lava completamente y luego se dispone a dormir, flotando de espaldas en lechos de algas, cerca de puntas rocosas o en grandes bahías. A veces, incluso se arropa con algas, a modo de manta.

Nuestro californio encontró que la vieja nutria comía de su mano, pero necesitaba casi 20 libras de comida al día, y tenía que estar cerca del agua para mantener limpia su piel. Prefería comer en el agua.

Nuestro californio aprendió de unos indios Esselen cercanos con que alimentar a la nutria. Le enseñaron a coger marisco de la playa cuando la marea está baja, y se afanaba buscando suficientes almejas para alimentar a su hambrienta amiga.

La nutria fue perseguida tan ferozmente que para el siglo veinte estaba casi extinguida. En 1911 un acuerdo internacional prohibió su caza. Como la nutria tiene pocos enemigos naturales aparte del hombre, han incrementado, y ahora hay unas 2,000 en California; su número aumenta alrededor del 5% al año. Pueden ser vistas desde Santa Cruz, en el norte, hasta Avila en el sur, y extienden su ámbito unas 5 millas en ambas direcciones cada año.

Nuestra nutria estaba tan agradecida por la ayuda del chico que le hizo su *valedor*—su protector y defensor. Este dicho californiano se usaba cuando dos personas se juraban ayuda mutua en todo, y estar más unidos que hermanos.

En tiempos de los españoles, cuando el ganado y los animales domésticos fueron traídos por vez primera desde México, los colonos estaban tan unidos a sus animales que les daban a cada uno un nombre, que era registrado en el libro de cuentas de la misión. A veces, nuestro chico preguntaba a la nutria que cómo se llamaba. "Si la naturaleza permitiera hablar a los animales, como en tiempos de Esopo, te lo diría."

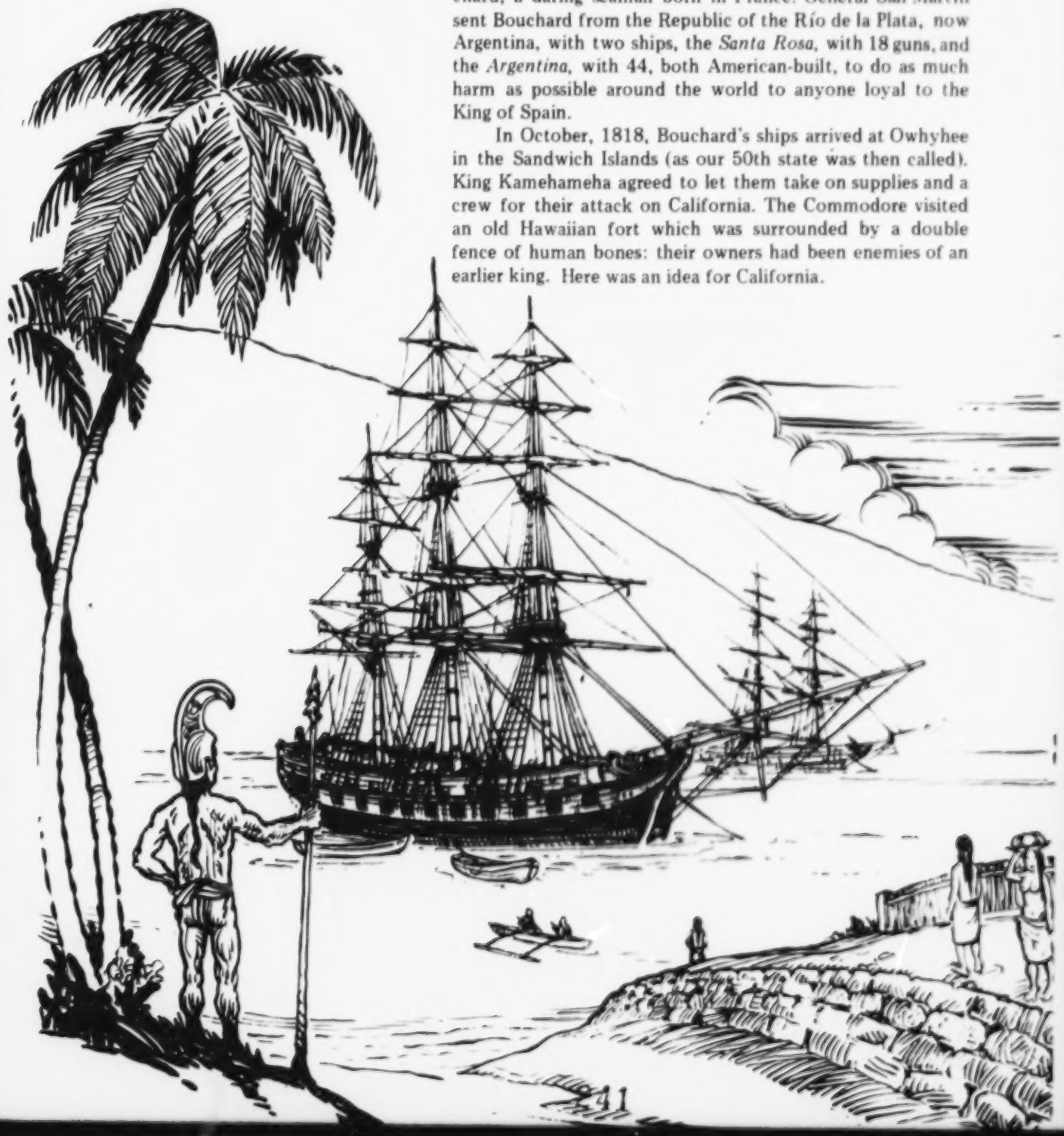
Sustenta la vida, que más que a mí te importa.

But their quiet days were to be interrupted from the sea. Away in South America the Spanish colonists had declared their independence from the King of Spain, who did not like this idea. He sent troops to fight them, as the King of England had done when his colonies in eastern North America had rebelled against him.

The South Americans fought back in as many ways as they could. Having no navy, they gave sea captains commissions to arm their merchant ships and attack any ship or territory loyal to the King of Spain. The Captain and the crew got to split any money they made from captures, so they were usually more interested in looting than fighting.

One commission went to Commodore Hipolito Bouchard, a daring seaman born in France. General San Martín sent Bouchard from the Republic of the Río de la Plata, now Argentina, with two ships, the *Santa Rosa*, with 18 guns, and the *Argentina*, with 44, both American-built, to do as much harm as possible around the world to anyone loyal to the King of Spain.

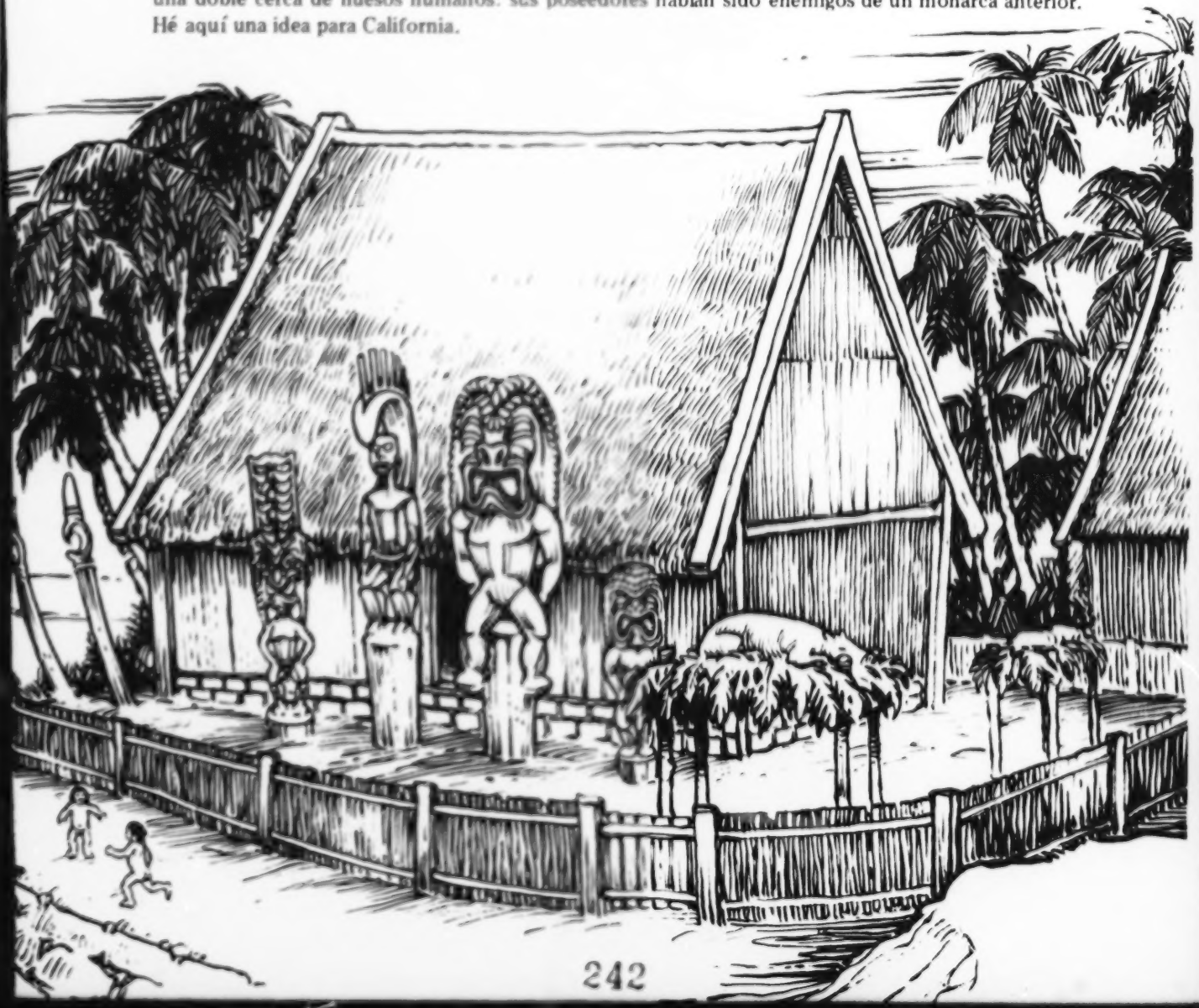
In October, 1818, Bouchard's ships arrived at Owhyhee in the Sandwich Islands (as our 50th state was then called). King Kamehameha agreed to let them take on supplies and a crew for their attack on California. The Commodore visited an old Hawaiian fort which was surrounded by a double fence of human bones: their owners had been enemies of an earlier king. Here was an idea for California.

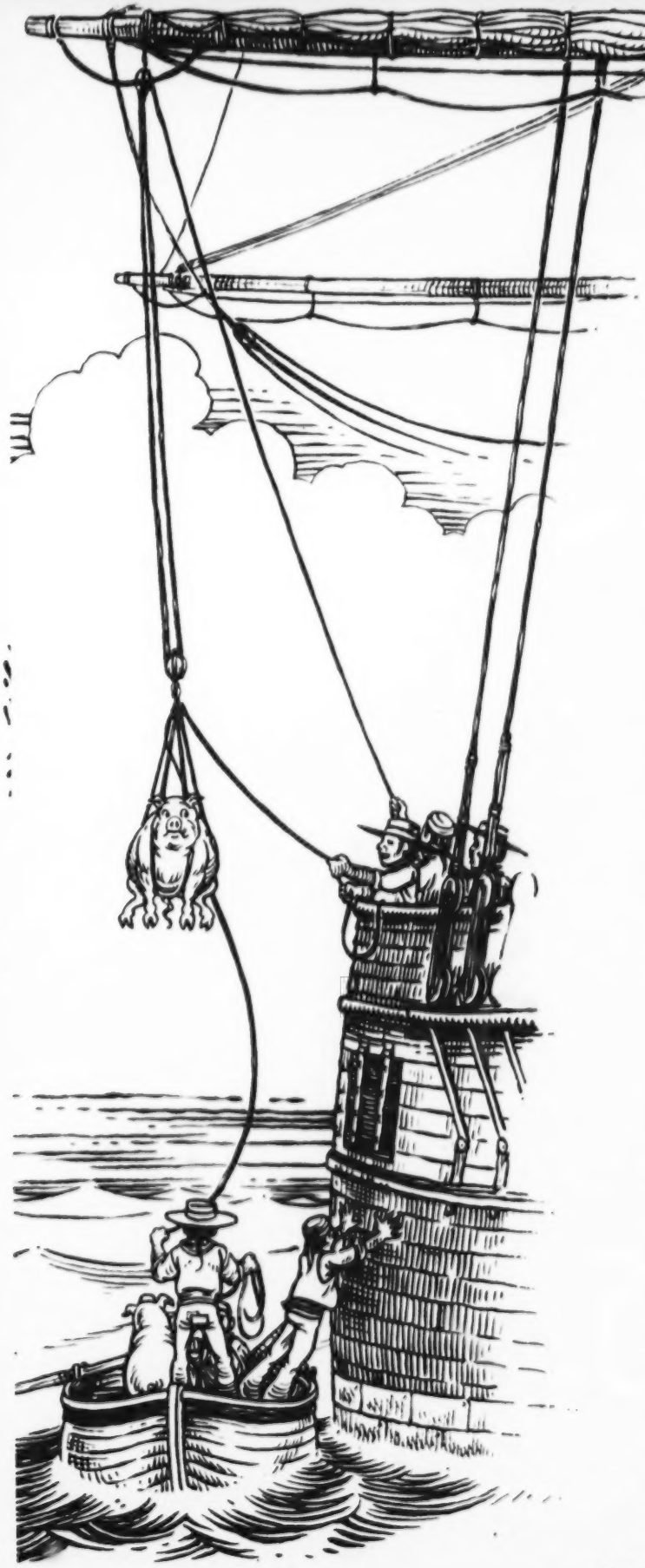


Pero sus tranquilos días fueron interrumpidos desde el mar. Allá, en América del Sur, los colonos españoles habían declarado su independencia del Rey de España, al cual no le gustó esta idea. Envió tropas para combatirles, como había hecho el Rey de Inglaterra cuando sus colonias del este de América del Norte se rebelaron contra el. Los sudamericanos se defendieron como pudieron. Sin armada, dieron licencia a los capitanes para que armaran sus barcos mercantes y atacaran cualquier barco o territorio leal al Rey de España. El capitán y su tripulación se dividían cuanto dinero capturaran, de modo que solían interesarse más en el pillaje que en la lucha.

Una licencia fue para el comodoro Hipólito Bouchard, un osado marino nacido en Francia. El general San Martín envió a Bouchard desde la República del Río de la Plata, hoy Argentina, con dos barcos, el *Santa Rosa*, con 18 cañones, y el *Argentina*, con 44, ambos construidos en América, para que hicieran todo el daño posible por el mundo a cualquiera que fuera leal al Rey de España.

En octubre de 1818 los barcos de Bouchard llegaron a Owhyhee, en las islas Sandwich (como se denominaba entonces nuestro 50 estado). El Rey Kamehameha accedió a dejarles tomar víveres y una tripulación para atacar California. El comodoro visitó un antiguo fuerte hawaiano, rodeado de una doble cerca de huesos humanos: sus poseedores habían sido enemigos de un monarca anterior. Hé aquí una idea para California.

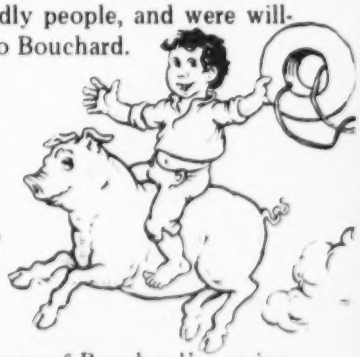




Meanwhile at Woahoo his crew loaded hogs and vegetables; on October 20th they sailed with a crew of Sandwich Islanders, Americans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Blacks, Manilamen, Malays, and a few English and Scotsmen, bound for an attack on California!

Shortly before, a Captain Gyzalaer had sailed for California, and had brought word of Bouchard's plans to his friend Don José de la Guerra in Santa Barbara. Governor Sola warned the four presidios—central military posts of the government—at San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego to be ready to withstand attack. Indians at the missions made up a large supply of bows and arrows for the defense and lookouts were ordered to be alert all along the coast. Many, of course, were already there watching for sea otter hunters.

Bouchard's ships arrived off California's coast near the Russian settlement of Bodega Bay and Fort Ross, where there were about 100 Russians, mostly convicts from Siberia. The Russians had bought this territory from the Indians for 3 blankets, 3 pair of britches, 2 axes, 3 hoes, and some beads. They were friendly people, and were willing to sell eggs and oil to Bouchard.

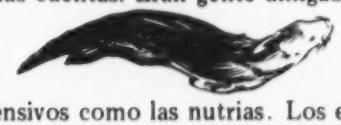


(In early California, the little boys began their riding on piggy-back. En la antigua California, los niños aprendían a montar con cerdos.)

At Monterey, unaware of Bouchard's coming, our boy wondered why anyone would hurt such loveable intelligent harmless animals as the otters. The Spanish had never bothered them. But Captain Cook's English sailors had discovered that the Chinese would pay huge sums for the beautiful sea otter skins. In 1812 there were so many sea otters in Monterey Bay that sailors rowing ashore kept banging into them with their oars. But that was the year that Yankee sea captains and Russian adventurers began to pursue the otters. Our old sea otter was hunted by Aleuts—Alaskan natives—from the Russian ship *Kutusov*. These northern hunters wore waterproof clothes made out of seal guts, and masks that looked like sea otter faces, as they paddled along the coast for hundreds of miles in their kayaks, sea ottering. General Vallejo guessed, wildly, that those hunters killed 10,000 otters a year after 1812.

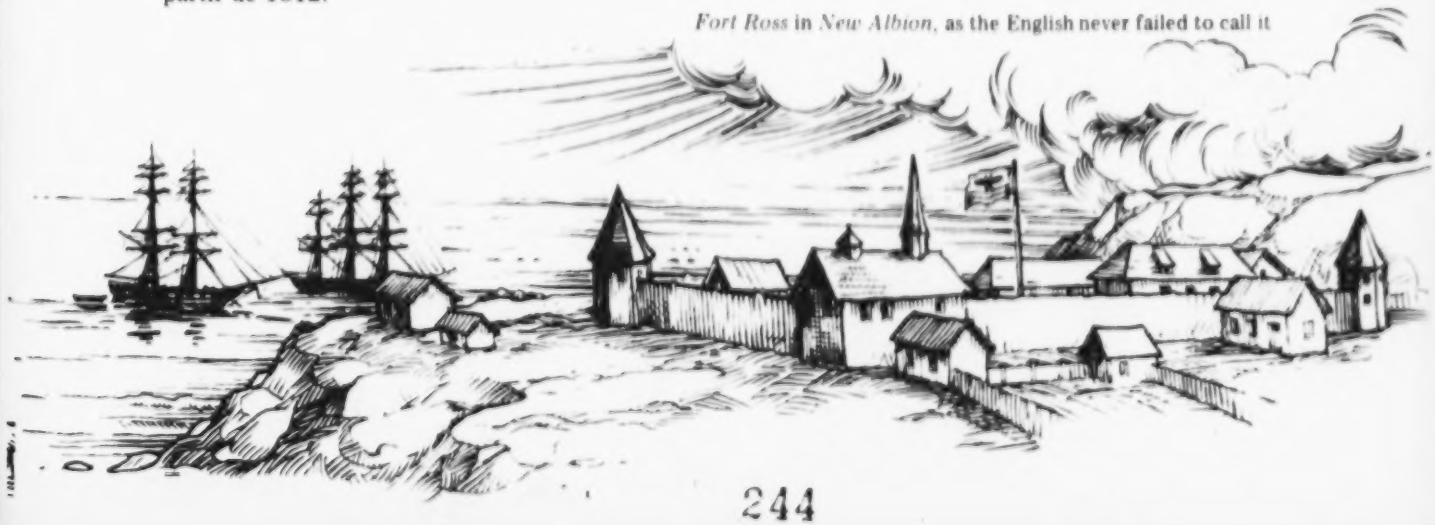
Mientras, en Woahoo, su tripulación cargaba cerdos y verduras; el 20 de octubre zarparon con una tripulación de isleños de la Sandwich, americanos, españoles, portugueses, negros, manileños, malayos y unos cuantos ingleses y escoceses, rumbo al ataque de California. Poco antes, un tal capitán Gyzalaer había zarpado rumbo a California, y había contado a su amigo Don José de la Guerra, en Santa Bárbara, los planes de Bouchard. El gobernador Sola puso en guardia los cuatro presidios—puestos militares—en San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Bárbara y San Diego para que se aprestaran a resistir el ataque. Los indios de las misiones reunieron una gran provisión de arcos y flechas para la defensa, y se ordeno a los vigías que estuvieran alerta por toda la costa. Por supuesto, muchos ya estaban allí buscando cazadores de nutrias.

Los barcos de Bouchard arribaron a la costa de California cerca de la colonia rusa de Bodega Bay y Fort Ross, donde había unos 100 rusos, la mayoría presidiarios de Siberia. Los rusos habían comprado a los indios este territorio por 3 mantas, 3 pares de pantalones, 2 hachas, 3 azadas y algunas cuentas. Eran gente amigable y estuvieron dispuestos a vender huevos y aceite a Bouchard.



En Monterey, nuestro chico que ignoraba la llegada de Bouchard, se preguntaba por qué alguien dañaría a unos animales tan amables, inteligentes, vivaces e inofensivos como las nutrias. Los españoles jamás las habían molestado. Pero los marineros ingleses del capitán Cook habían descubierto que los chinos pagaban enormes sumas por las preciosas pieles de las nutrias. En 1812 había tantas nutrias en la bahía de Monterey que los remos de los marinos, al remar hacia tierra, tropezaban constantemente con nutrias. Pero aquel año los capitanes de mar yanquis y los aventureros rusos comenzaron a perseguir a las nutrias. Nuestra vieja nutria había sido cazada por nativos de las Aleutas a bordo del barco ruso *Kutusov*. Estos cazadores septentrionales llevaban ropas impermeables hechas con tripas de foca, y máscaras que parecían caras de nutria conforme remaban a lo largo de la costa por cientos de millas en sus kayaks a la caza de nutrias marinas. El general Vallejo calculaba a bulto que los cazadores mataban unas 10,000 nutrias al año a partir de 1812.

Fort Ross in *New Albion*, as the English never failed to call it



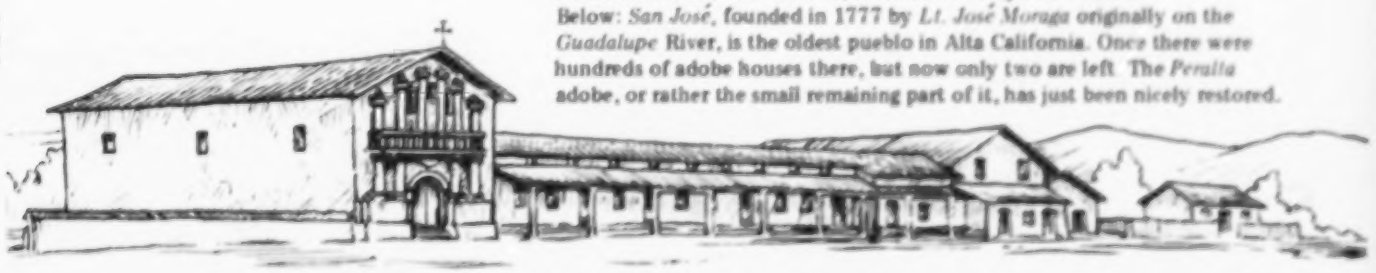
San Francisco Presidio, founded 1776 by *J. B. de Anza*
One side of the quadrangle was being rebuilt in 1818.

After Choris, 1818

Then Bouchard sailed south. Historian Bancroft says he probably did not sail into San Francisco Bay, but Alvarado, who later served twice as governor of California, and the great General Vallejo say he did, that on November 20, 1818, Arguello, who commanded the Presidio of San Francisco, was told that the large ships were in the waters between Bolinas and Point Lobos. Arguello ordered all his soldiers and Indians up to the roofs, where they would appear as a large army, and fired a cannon to frighten off the attackers.

Commodore Bouchard sailed southward: maybe he was frightened by seeing so many defenders, or perhaps he just thought so small and poor a place as San Francisco would have no booty worth taking.

Mission San Francisco de Asís, founded 1776 by *Padre Palou*
Below: *San José*, founded in 1777 by *Lt. José Moraga* originally on the *Guadalupe* River, is the oldest pueblo in Alta California. Once there were hundreds of adobe houses there, but now only two are left. The *Peralta* adobe, or rather the small remaining part of it, has just been nicely restored.



Luego Bouchard zarpó rumbo al sur. El historiador Bancroft dice que probablemente aquel no entró en la bahía de San Francisco, pero Alvarado, quien sirvió más tarde como gobernador de California por dos veces, y el gran general Vallejo dicen que sí, que el 20 de noviembre de 1818 Arguello, que mandaba el presidio de San Francisco, se enteró de que dos grandes barcos estaban en aguas entre Bolinas y Point Lobos. Arguello ordenó a todos sus soldados e indios que subieran a los tejados, donde parecerían un gran ejército y disparó un cañón para espantar a los atacantes.

El comodoro Bouchard zarpó rumbo al sur; puede que se asustara al ver tantos defensores, o quizá pensó simplemente que un lugar tan pequeño y pobre como San Francisco no tendría botín que mereciera la pena.

The Peralta adobe

You might think, in this age of preservation, that the last thing to be destroyed would be any of the remaining ancient homes of the early Californios. But this is not so. MANY have been destroyed lately, and are gone FOREVER! With luck, California will still be here 500 or a thousand years from now, and there may be children then interested in seeing the abodes of the settlers of their towns. The list of recently destroyed adobe buildings is long enough to be heart-rending.

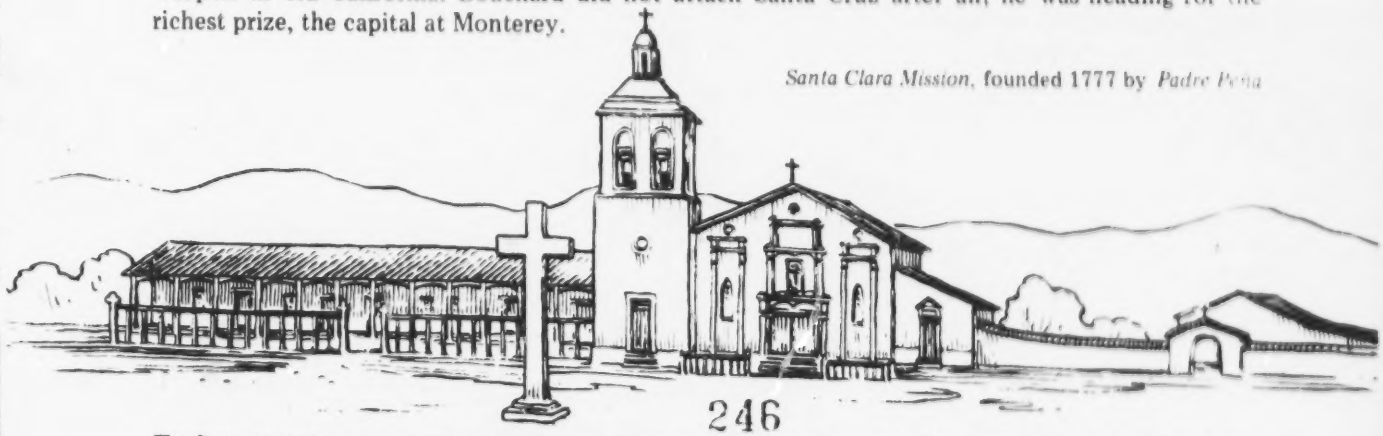
Mission San José, founded 1797 by *Padre Lasuén*

Bouchard headed towards the richest parts of Alta California. On the ranchos of Mission San José were approximately 7,000 head of cattle, and 12,000 sheep, grazing over an area covered today by cities from Fremont to Dublin to Livermore to Walnut Creek to Concord and Martínez. Further south still was the pueblo of San José de Guadalupe, the first town founded in *New* California (Baja California, settled many years earlier, was called *Old* California).

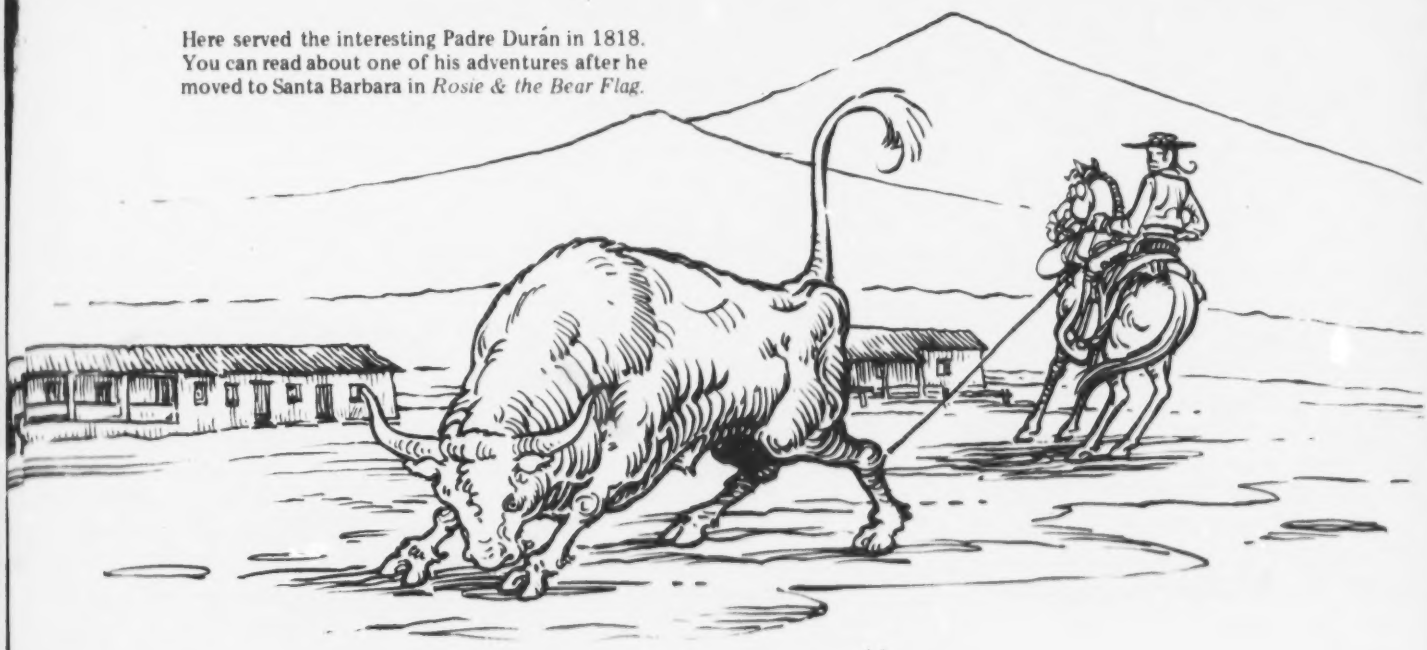
Still further south was Santa Cruz Mission, with its nearby village of Branciforte, whose only grandeur was in its name. Many Californians could imagine no greater benefit to the province than that the disreputable settlers of Branciforte should be sent somewhere a million leagues away for two-hundred years.

When the shady characters there and the six soldiers of the Mission heard that Bouchard was heading their way, they decided to keep him from robbing their rich and flourishing mission by taking everything first for themselves. The local judge, Don Joaquín Buelna, resisted the mob, which accused him of being an ally of the enemy. But the good judge quelled them with poetry—a mighty weapon in old California. Bouchard did not attack Santa Cruz after all; he was heading for the richest prize, the capital at Monterey.

Santa Clara Mission, founded 1777 by *Padre Peña*



The first mission here was abandoned because of flooding, and a second was only temporary. A third, begun in 1781 – a magnificent building—was damaged by earthquakes in 1812 and 1818; a fourth was begun in 1818, and then a fifth in 1822—the church shown here. Alas, it burned down in 1926, but was replaced by a concrete replica which should last.



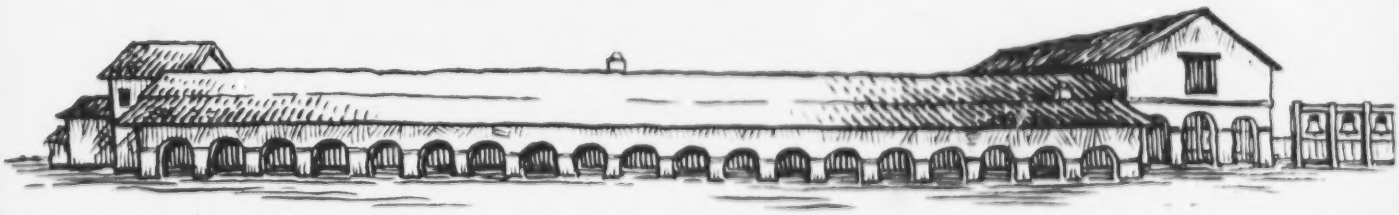
Here served the interesting Padre Durán in 1818. You can read about one of his adventures after he moved to Santa Barbara in *Rosie & the Bear Flag.*

Bouchard se dirigió hacia las partes más ricas de Alta California. Tierra adentro, en los ranchos de la misión de San José aproximadamente había 7,000 cabezas de ganado, y 12,000 ovejas, pastando en un área cubierta hoy por ciudades desde Fremont a Dublin, Livermore, Walnut Creek, Concord y Martinez. Más al sur aún estaba el pueblo de San José de Guadalupe, la primera localidad fundada en *Nueva* California (Baja California, colonizada muchos años antes era llamada *Vieja* California).

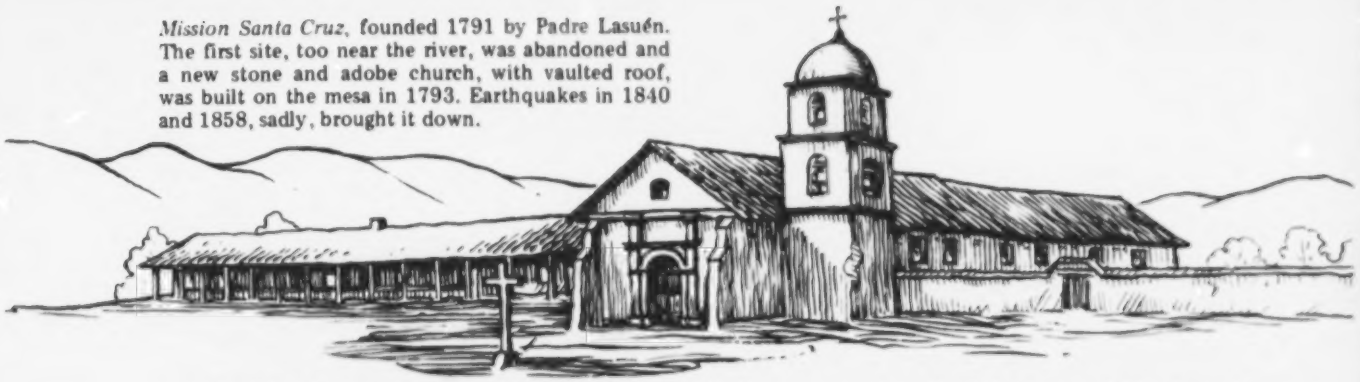
Aún más al sur estaba la misión de Santa Cruz, con su cercano pueblo de Branciforte, cuya única grandeza residía en su nombre. Muchos californios no podían imaginar un mayor beneficio para la provincia que el que los despreciables colonos de Branciforte fueran enviados como a un millón de leguas lejos por doscientos años.

Cuando los turbios tipos de allí y los seis soldados de la misión se enteraron que Bouchard se dirigía hacia ellos decidieron evitar que robara su rica y floreciente misión apoderándose de todo ellos mismos primero. El juez local, Don Joaquín Buelna, resistió al populacho, que le acusó de estar aliado con el enemigo. Pero el buen juez les sojuzgó con poesía —poderosa arma en la antigua California. Bouchard no atacó Santa Cruz después de todo; se dirigía hacia la presa más rica, la capital, Monterey.

Mission San Juan Bautista, founded 1797 by *Padre Lasuén*



Here in 1818 Thomas Doak, the first American settler in California, worked decorating the walls of the mission church. This town and mission are one of the most lovely spots in California, and you will especially enjoy the rodeo there in July.



Mission Santa Cruz, founded 1791 by Padre Lasuén. The first site, too near the river, was abandoned and a new stone and adobe church, with vaulted roof, was built on the mesa in 1793. Earthquakes in 1840 and 1858, sadly, brought it down.

Captain Corney of the *Santa Rosa*, Bouchard's lieutenant, described the town of Monterey he saw when there before: it is "most pleasantly situated on a beautiful and extensive plain, nearly half a mile from a sandy beach. It consists of about 50 houses of one story, built in a square and surrounded by a square wall, about 18 feet high; on the south side of the square stands the church; on the west, the governor's house; on the east, the lieutenant-governor's house and the king's warehouses; on the north side is the grand and principal entrance, jail, and guardhouse, while in the middle are two field-pieces, 6-pounders. There are many farm houses scattered over the plain, with large herds of cattle and sheep. On a hill, about one mile to the west, stands the fort. The whole population of the town does not exceed 400 souls."

Over these citizens, and all the inhabitants of New and Old California presided Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, who had become governor in 1815. A wise and kind man, he was particularly loved by the children of Monterey, whom he took great pains to look after. He loved all children, perhaps because he had none of his own. Sola took a great interest in the schools; when he first took office, he ordered schoolmaster Archuleta to appear before him with the students. Sola gave the children candy and nuts, then explained to them the advantages in life which their education would some day give them. He would take the best older students into his service, to improve their handwriting by making a copy for the governor's files of the letters he wrote on government business. In those days, anyone who wanted to keep a copy of a document he had written needed someone to copy it for him, so there was always a job for a person with good handwriting.

Sola gave the Monterey school a number of books about government, and also a most excellent work by the great Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra named *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. He explained to them that from this work they could learn much of the soul of man and the soul of Spain, and perhaps, if they read it with great understanding, they might, as they rode down the lanes of California, see ahead of them the gaunt knight on his bony steed Rocinante, listening to fat Sancho Panza, who had a proverb to fit every occurrence, as they looked for adventures and a chance to help the helpless. (A few flowers plucked from this great book have been strewn along the wayside in this story to improve the appearance of our landscape.)

Governor Sola also donated money to found two new schools for boys and one for girls in Monterey, and adopted three of the town's boys, who later became great men in California and wrote memoirs which praised the kind governor.

The Monterey Presidio, founded 1770 by *Gaspar de Portolá*, as Bouchard saw it

Mission San Carlos Borromeo, founded 1770 by Padre Serra where *San Carlos*, the Monterey Presidio Church, now stands. The mission was moved a year later over the hill to the Carmel River, where there was better soil and water, and where Indian maids would not be shocked by visiting sailors. This building was begun in 1793, and in it lies Padre Serra.

After Orania Das

El segundo de Bouchard, capitán Corney del *Santa Rosa*, describió la ciudad de Monterey que vió desde el mar: está "situada de lo más agradablemente en una bella y amplia llanura, una media milla de una arenosa playa. Consiste en unas 50 casas de un piso, formando una plaza y rodeada de una muralla cuadrada de unos 18 pies de alto; en el lado sur de la plaza está la iglesia; al oeste, la casa del gobernador; al este, la casa del teniente de gobernador y los almacenes del rey; al norte está la gran entrada principal, la cárcel y el cuartel, mientras que en el centro hay dos piezas de artillería de seis libras. Hay muchas casas de labranza esparcidas por la llanura, con grandes hatos de ganado y ovejas. Sobre una colina, como a una milla hacia el oeste, está el fuerte. La población total de la ciudad no excede las 400 almas.

Don Pablo Vicente de Sola presidia sobre todos estos ciudadanos, y sobre todos los habitantes de la Nueva y Vieja California. Habia llegado a ser gobernador en 1815. Hombre sensato y bueno, querido especialmente por los niños de Monterey, a los que se afanó por cuidar. Amaba a todos los niños, quizá porque no tenía ninguno propio. Sola se interesó mucho por las escuelas; cuando tomó su cargo ordenó al maestro Archuleta que se presentara ante él con los estudiantes. Sola dio a los niños dulces y nueces, explicándoles luego las ventajas que les traería en la vida su educación algún día. Tomaba a su servicio a los mejores entre los estudiantes mayores para que mejoraran su escritura copiando para los archivos del gobernador las cartas que escribía sobre asuntos de gobierno. En aquellos días, todo el que quisiera guardar una copia de un documento que hubiera escrito necesitaba que alguien se lo copiara, así que siempre había trabajo para alguien con buena letra.

Sola dotó a la escuela de Monterey con una serie de libros sobre gobierno, y también con la excelsa obra del gran Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra titulada *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Les explicó que con esta obra podían aprender mucho acerca del hombre y el espíritu de España, y quizá, si la leían con gran inteligencia, podrían, al cabalgar por los caminos de California, ver delante de ellos al flaco caballero sobre su huesudo corcel, Rocinante, escuchando al gordo Sancho Panza, que tenía un refrán para cada lance, en busca de aventuras y de una oportunidad para ayudar a los desvalidos. (Unas cuantas flores arrancadas de este gran libro han sido sembradas al borde del camino en este relato para mejorar la apariencia de nuestro paisaje.)

Tanta filosofía sabe, y más, que Aristóteles.
He knows as much philosophy as Aristotle.

There were already schools in California, but before the time of Governor Sola they were frightening places, "a collection of horrors and torments for childhood." Monterey's schoolmaster Archuleta, a poor old soldier with a crabbed face and a scowl, wore frayed and filthy clothes, and his scholars had to undergo all the punishments that military and clerical refinement could invent to correct them.

When a child finished his work, he took it to Archuleta and waited with fear and trembling.

"AH! You've made a blot here! You wretch, you scoundrel!"

"Worthy master," the child would say, "pardon me today and tomorrow I'll do better."

But the master would seize an enormous whip and order the little one to hold out his hands. The boy could beg and weep all in vain; he had to hold out his hands, which trembled as he waited. The master raised the terrible whip and brought it down two or three times with a loud crack. Then he would hurl the student's paper to the floor with scorn and anger. Sometimes the master's whip was heard a hundred times in an hour—but there was a worse punishment yet!

Upon the table lay a long cat-of-nine-tails. This dread weapon was used to punish major crimes, such as not knowing the lesson, having laughed aloud, or having spilled an inkwell. Then the master would order the criminal to be stretched out upon a bench. He would lash him a dozen times, with his fury increasing, his gray hair bristling, his eyes popping from their sockets as he frothed at the mouth like a wild boar. No wonder the children loved Governor Sola for saving them from these cruelties!

The Governor saw the students frequently, to check on their progress. At this time, when ships came to Monterey but seldom, a ship's arrival was a major event. The lookout on Mount Parnaso near Point Lobos would inform Commandante Estudillo at the Presidio, who in turn notified the Governor, who then ordered the drums to be beaten, to notify the people. Then the Governor and all the people would go down to the beach to watch the ship arrive. Governor Sola ordered that the children should be allowed to leave school and join the excitement on the beach; he could question them about their lessons while everyone waited for the ship.

Once when a ship was sighted, Schoolmaster Archuleta started for the beach, telling his pupils that before they came, they must close their books, cork their ink-bottles, and close the *gatera* by which the cat came in and out. The pupils ran off to the beach helter-skelter to see the Governor,

The immortal, incomparable Spanish nation has many and great resources with which to make herself respected. Don Pablo Vicente Sola, teniente coronel de los Reales Ejércitos, Gobernador Político y Militar de la Alta California, y Comandante Inspector de las tropas que guarnecen sus Presidios.

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Porque éstos, sin duda, son corsarios franceses, que hacen a toda ropa.

Ya había escuelas en California, pero antes de la época del gobernador Sola eran sitios espantosos, una "colección de horrores y tormentos para la infancia." El maestro de Monterey, Archuleta, era un pobre soldado viejo, de rostro ceñudo y mal cariz. Llevaba ropas raídas y sucias, y sus escolares tenían que sufrir todos los castigos que el refinamiento militar y clerical pudo inventar para corregirles.

Cuando un niño finalizaba su tarea la llevaba a Archuleta y esperaba con miedo y temblor.

"Ah! ¡Has hecho un borrón aquí! ¡Desventurado, pícaro!"

"Benemérito maestro," decía el niño, "perdóneme hoy y mañana lo haré mejor." Pero el maestro agarraba un enorme látigo y ordenaba al pequeño extender las manos. El niño suplicaba y lloraba en vano; tenía que extender las manos, que temblaban mientras esperaba. El maestro alzaba el terrible látigo y lo bajaba dos o tres veces con un fuerte chasquido. Luego arrojaba el trabajo del estudiante al suelo con desdén e ira. A veces se oía el látigo del maestro cien veces a la hora, pero ¡había otro castigo peor aún!

Había sobre la mesa una disciplina. Esta terrible arma se usaba para castigar crímenes mayores, tales como no saberse la lección, reir en alto, o derramar un tintero. Entonces, el maestro ordenaba al criminal estirarse sobre un banco. Le azotaba una docena de veces, su furia en aumento, su pelo gris se erizaba, sus ojos se salían de sus órbitas conforme echaba espuma por la boca como un jabalí salvaje. ¡No es extraño que los niños amaran al gobernador Sola por salvarles de estas crueldades!

forgetting all these instructions. The Governor questioned them, and was so pleased with their answers that he sent for a basket of dates to give them. But meanwhile, back at the schoolroom, a flock of chickens found their way in through the *gatera* and spilled the ink-bottles over the books. What thrashings would result when the class returned, but . . .

But school, and all other Monterey daily life was interrupted by Bouchard's coming. The Governor knew that Bouchard would soon attack Monterey, and ordered preparations to be made.

All the families were told to leave in the dark of night, and go inland, where they would be safer. Brave men would stay to defend the town, and some would serve as the Governor's messengers. The citizens of Monterey loved their families greatly, and many tears were shed at the idea of separation. Wives refused to leave their husbands, mothers their sons. But the Governor insisted. Everyone ran about hastily, packing the carts. Clothes were forgotten in the rush, hardly anyone remembered shoes, and only one clever girl thought to bring food. She ran into the woods, carrying on her head a basket filled with boiled beans; her long hair streamed in the breeze, but not for long! Grease from the beans came through the basket and ran down her hair and neck. What a mess!

Many of the women packed themselves and their families into lumbering *carretas* (carts), and headed off to the inland missions. The Vallejo family, Juana Magdalena, Encarnación, Rosalía, Salvador, Mariano, and their mother filled one cart to overflowing. In another shivered Doña Magdalena Estudillo, wife of the *Comandante* of Monterey, whose husband would scarce be able to fight the enemy, being so worried about Doña Magdalena, his legendary wife.

One group of women, led by the rascally *el lego* (lay brother) Don Felipe García went off into the woods, wearing their bright red skirts. In the midst of the woods, to please his eyes, Don Felipe made the poor women lift up their skirts by telling them that the dread pirates had spy glasses and would be able to find them by seeing their full red skirts. Only he could have persuaded anyone that pirate spyglasses could see several miles through thick trees!

El gobernador veía a los estudiantes frecuentemente para vigilar su progreso. En esta época, cuando arribaban barcos a Monterey, aunque rara vez, la llegada de un barco era un suceso importante. El vigía de Mount Parnaso, cerca de Point Lobos, informaba al comandante Estudillo del Presidio, quien a su vez notificaba al gobernador, que entonces ordenaba que se tocaran los tambores para avisar a la gente. Luego el gobernador y todo el mundo bajaban a la playa para contemplar la llegada del barco. El gobernador Sola ordenaba que se dejara salir a los niños de la escuela y que se unieran al júbilo de la playa; les preguntaba sus lecciones mientras todos esperaban el barco.

Una vez, un barco fue avistado. El maestro Archuleta se encaminó a la playa y dijo a sus alumnos que antes de venir debían cerrar sus libros, tapar con el corcho sus tinteros y cerrar la *gatera* por la cual entraba y salía el gato. Los alumnos se lanzaron a la desbandada a la playa a ver al gobernador, olvidándose de todas estas instrucciones. El gobernador les preguntó, y quedó tan satisfecho de sus respuestas que mandó por una cesta de dátiles para dárselos. Pero mientras tanto, en la clase, una bandada de pollos encontró su camino a través de la *gatera* y derramó los tinteros sobre los libros. ¡Qué palizas cuando volviera la clase! Pero . . .

Pero la escuela y todo el resto de la vida diaria de Monterey fue interrumpida por la llegada de Bouchard. El gobernador sabía que Bouchard pronto atacaría Monterey, y ordenó que se hicieran los preparativos.

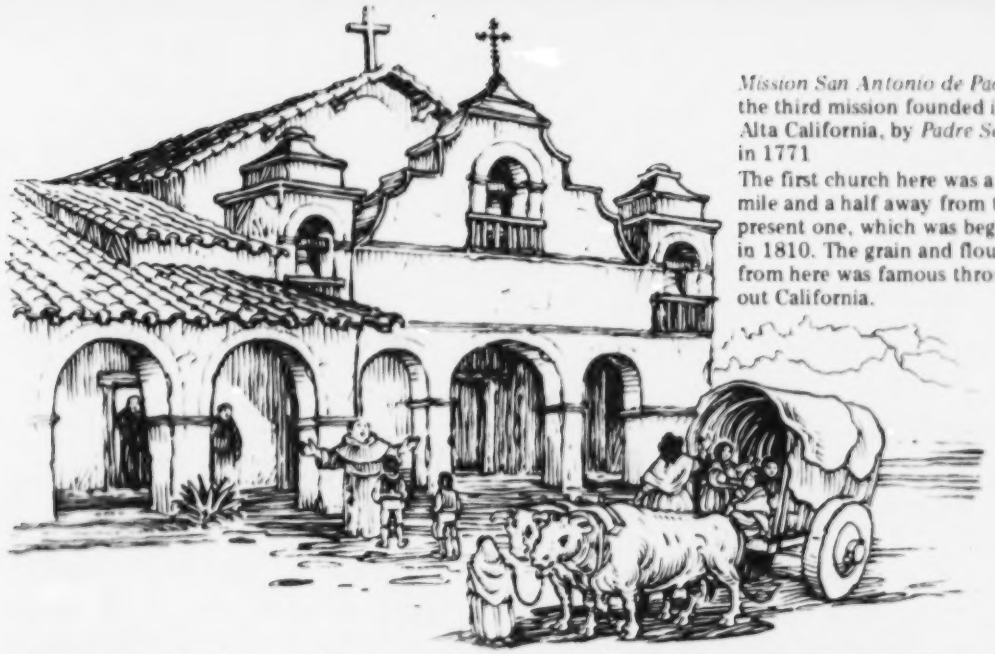
Se ordenó a todas las familias que salieran en la oscuridad de la noche y fueran tierra adentro, donde estarían más seguras. Los hombres valientes se quedarían para defender la ciudad, y algunos harían de mensajeros del gobernador. Los ciudadanos de Monterey amaban a sus familias enormemente, y muchas lágrimas fueron vertidas ante la idea de la separación. Las mujeres rehusaban dejar a sus maridos, las madres a sus hijos. Pero el gobernador insistía. Todos corrían apresuradamente, cargando los carros. Se dejaron atrás ropas con la prisa, apenas nadie se acordó de zapatos, y sólo a una chica lista se le ocurrió traer comida. Corrió al bosque, llevando sobre la cabeza una cesta llena de frijoles cocidos; su largo cabello flotaba en la brisa, pero ¡no por mucho tiempo! La grasa de los frijoles se filtraba por la cesta y descendía por el cabello y cuello. ¡Qué lío!

Muchas mujeres montaron con sus familias en lentas y chirriantes *carretas*, y se dirigieron hacia las misiones del interior. La familia Vallejo, Juana Magdalena, Encarnación, Rosalía, Salvador, Mariano, y su madre, llenó una carreta hasta los topes. En otra temblaba Doña Magdalena Estudillo, mujer del comandante de Monterey, cuyo marido, tan preocupado por Doña Magdalena, apenas podría luchar contra el enemigo.

Un grupo de mujeres, encabezadas por el vil lego Don Felipe García se largó a los montes, con sus faldas de un rojo vivo. En medio de los bosques, para deleitar sus ojos, Don Felipe hizo que las pobres mujeres se subieran las faldas, diciéndoles que los terribles piratas tenían catalejos y podrían encontrarles por sus amplias faldas rojas. Sólo él pudo persuadir a alguien de que los catalejos de los piratas podían divisar varias millas a través de densos árboles.

Mission of Nuestra Señora Dolorosísima de la Soledad, founded 1791 by *Padre Lasuén*

A church was built here in 1797 and a new one in 1808. In front, here, is Padre Ibáñez, a poet and friend of Governor Arrillaga, who had died here in 1814 and was buried in the nave. Padre Ibáñez died a few days after Bouchard bothered the Monteryenos. Soledad was badly flooded later, and little was left but heaps of mud. It is now being rebuilt.



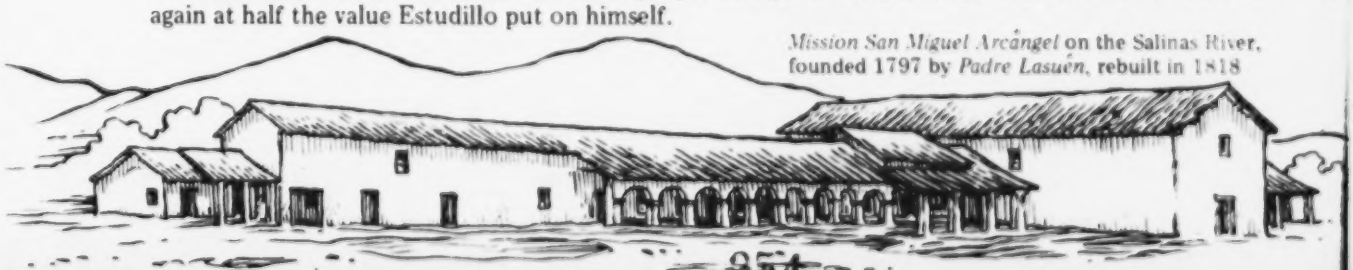
Mission San Antonio de Padua, the third mission founded in Alta California, by *Padre Serra* in 1771
The first church here was a mile and a half away from the present one, which was begun in 1810. The grain and flour from here was famous throughout California.

Lieutenant Estudillo, Commander of the Presidio, was the highest ranking officer in Monterey after Governor Sola, and was responsible, under Governor Sola's command, for defending the town. He claimed to be afraid of nothing human—although he had had problems with animals. The Governor had ordered that no one in Monterey should gamble, but people met at night at the home of *Don* José Armenta to gamble in defiance of this law. Estudillo's aide, Víctor Arroyo, decided to end the gambling without arresting anyone. He had a bear suit made which fitted him so perfectly that when he wore it, no one but another bear could have known Arroyo wasn't a bear. One night he hid himself in the woods near *Tío* Armenta's house by the little trail which led back to the Presidio (near the present road to Pacific Grove). At two or three in the morning the gambling ended, and the rich García brothers, merchants, came along the trail. When Arroyo saw them he let out a terrifying roar, and began to chase them. They ran as fast as they could, but the bear ran faster. To escape what seemed certain death, the García brothers left the trail and leaped over the edge of a cliff. One broke his arm, the other his leg. Arroyo, seeing that his joke had become altogether too serious, went for a doctor.

The Garcias told everyone that they had been attacked by eight ferocious bears, but enough of the truth leaked out that people laughed at them. They believed Lieutenant José María Estudillo was responsible for their humiliation and pain, and they decided to revenge themselves on him after their recovery. With several gifts they persuaded Víctor Arroyo and his brother—who would also do anything for a joke—to dress up in bear skins to give Estudillo a dose of the same medicine.

Estudillo was riding by the *lagunita* on the road to the Orchard del Rey one day; two bears leapt out at him, apparently athirst for human blood. Estudillo's horse was terrified, and jumped into the water. The bears remained on the bank; each time Estudillo tried to make his horse leave the pond, the bears roared so loudly that the horse swam away from the only landing place. Soon the horse got hopelessly stuck in the mud, and Estudillo had to get off and swim. When he landed, the bears attacked, and Estudillo decided he could save his life only by playing dead, since he believed bears would not attack a dead body. Perhaps he was right; he survived.

The citizens of Monterey greatly enjoyed hearing this story, as they felt Estudillo boasted too much of his own talent and bravery. They used to say that a man could make a wonderful profit if he could buy Estudillo for as much as most people thought his talents were worth, and then sell him again at half the value Estudillo put on himself.



Mission San Miguel Arcángel on the Salinas River, founded 1797 by *Padre Lasuén*, rebuilt in 1818

El teniente Estudillo, comandante del Presidio, era el oficial de mayor graduación en Monterey después del gobernador Sola, y era responsable, bajo el mando del gobernador, de la defensa de la ciudad. Alegaba que no temía a nada humano—aunque había tenido problemas con animales. El gobernador había ordenado que nadie de Monterey jugara, pero la gente se reunía por la noche en casa de Don José Armenta para jugar a despecho de esta ley. El ayuda de Estudillo, Víctor Arroyo, decidió terminar con el juego sin arrestar a nadie. Se hizo hacer un traje de oso que le sentaba tan perfectamente que cuando lo llevaba nadie, salvo otro oso, hubiera sabido que Arroyo no era un oso. Una noche se escondió en el bosque cerca de la casa de Tío Armenta, junto al caminito que conducía tras el Presidio (cerca de la actual carretera a Pacific Grove). A las dos o tres de la mañana acabó el juego, y los ricos hermanos García, comerciantes, venían por el camino. Cuando Arroyo los vió lanzó un rugido terrible, y comenzó a perseguirles. Corrían tan rápido como podían, pero el oso corría más rápido. Para escapar de lo que parecía una muerte cierta, los hermanos García dejaron el camino y saltaron sobre el borde de un precipicio. Uno se rompió un brazo, el otro una pierna. Arroyo, viendo que su broma se había convertido en algo demasiado serio, fue en busca de un doctor.

"La chanza que hiere no es chanza, y las diversiones valen menos cuando traen daños."

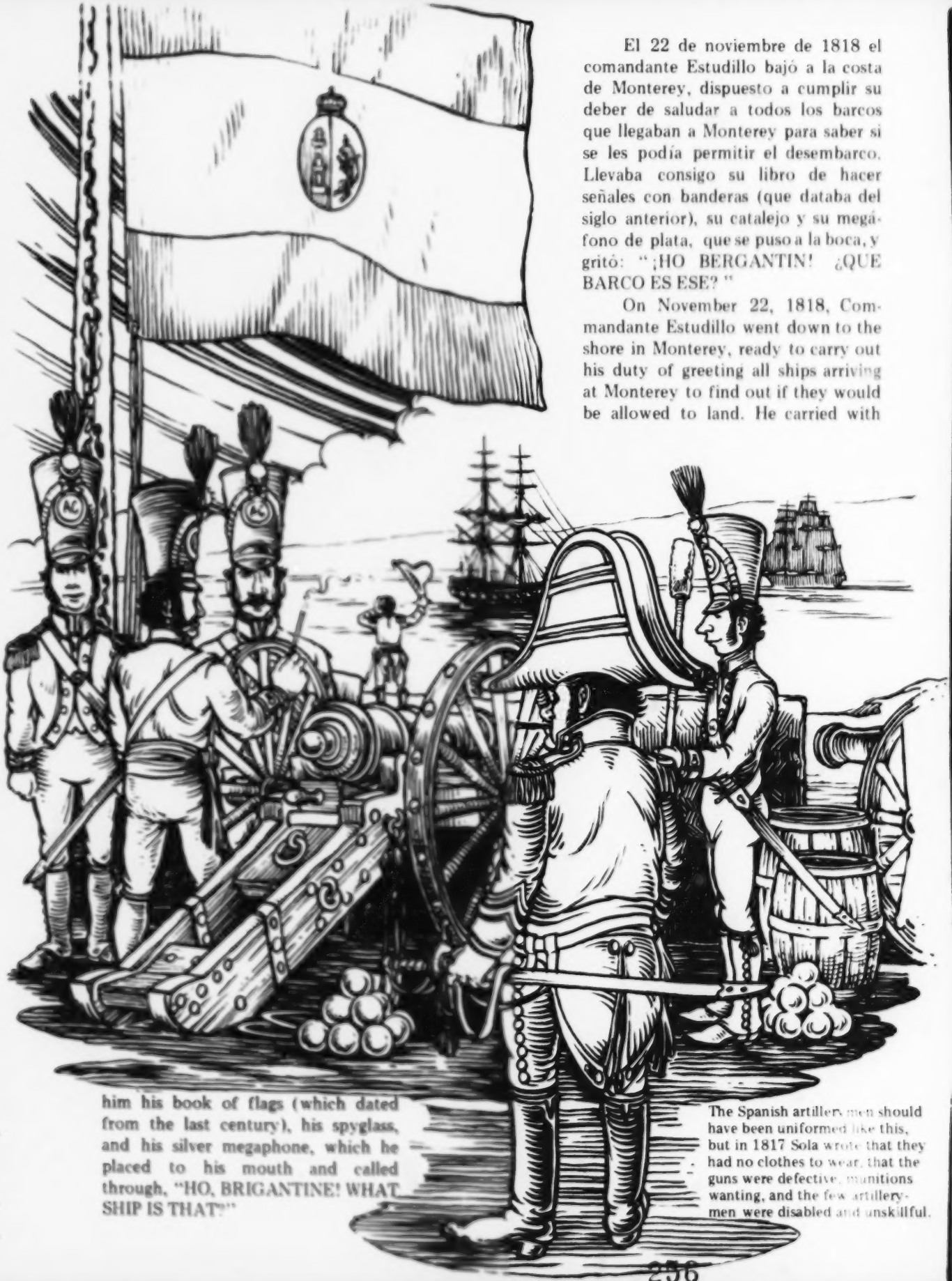
Los Garcías contaron a todo el mundo que habían sido atacados por ocho osos feroces, pero la verdad se divulgó lo suficiente como para que la gente se riera de ellos. Creyeron que el teniente José María Estduillo era el responsable de su humillación y dolor, y decidieron vengarse de él una vez recuperados. Con varios regalos trataron de persuadir a Víctor Arroyo y a su hermano—que también hacía cualquier cosa por una broma—para que se vistieran con pieles de oso para dar a Estudillo una dosis de la misma medicina.

Un día, Estudillo cabalgaba junto a la lagunita camino del Huerto del Rey; dos osos brincaron hacia él, al parecer sedientos de sangre humana. El caballo de Estudillo estaba aterrorizado, y saltó al agua. Los osos se quedaron en la orilla, cada vez que Estudillo trataba de hacer que su caballo dejara la charca, los osos rugían tan fuertemente que el caballo nadaba lejos del único lugar posible para salir. Pronto el caballo se quedó atascado en el cieno, y Estudillo tuvo que desmontar y nadar. Cuando llegó a tierra los osos le atacaron y Estudillo decidió que sólo podía salvar su vida haciéndose el muerto. Quizá tenía razón: sobrevivió.

No son burlas las que duelen.
Jest that wounds is no jest.

El 22 de noviembre de 1818 el comandante Estudillo bajó a la costa de Monterey, dispuesto a cumplir su deber de saludar a todos los barcos que llegaban a Monterey para saber si se les podía permitir el desembarco. Llevaba consigo su libro de hacer señales con banderas (que databa del siglo anterior), su catalejo y su megáfono de plata, que se puso a la boca, y gritó: "¡HO BERGANTIN! ¿QUE BARCO ES ESE?"

On November 22, 1818, Commandante Estudillo went down to the shore in Monterey, ready to carry out his duty of greeting all ships arriving at Monterey to find out if they would be allowed to land. He carried with him his book of flags (which dated from the last century), his spyglass, and his silver megaphone, which he placed to his mouth and called through, "HO, BRIGANTINE! WHAT SHIP IS THAT?"



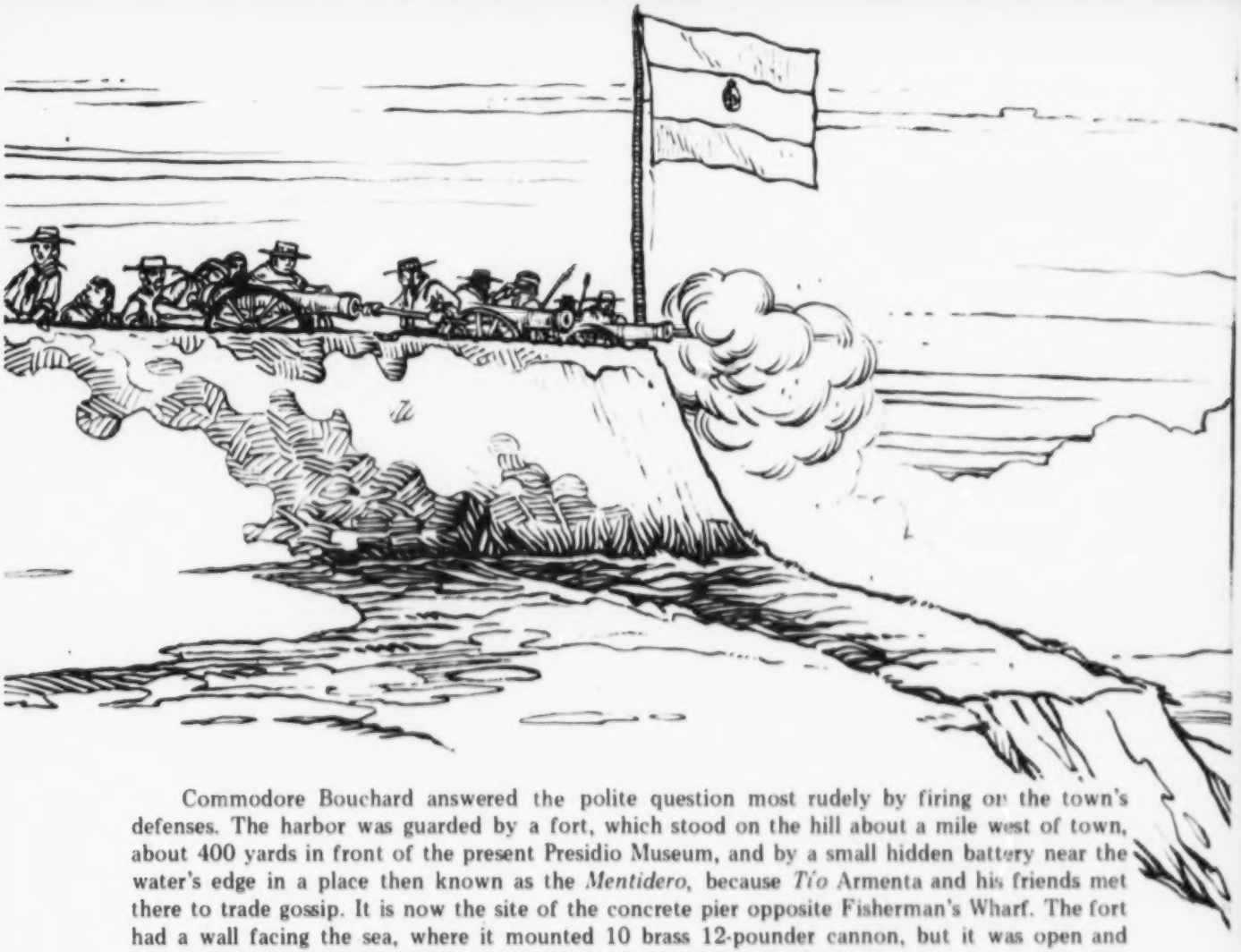
The Spanish artillerymen should have been uniformed like this, but in 1817 Sola wrote that they had no clothes to wear, that the guns were defective, munitions wanting, and the few artillerymen were disabled and unskillful.

The Royal Chapel of the Monterey Presidio, built in 1794

It *was* Bouchard! The battle was about to begin. Governor Sola set up his command post in the tall tower of the presidio church, from which he could see nearly everything. From there he sent out his messengers with orders.

Ahora había comenzado la batalla. El gobernador Sola dispuso su puesto de mando en la alta torre de la iglesia del presidio, desde la cual podía divisar casi todo. Desde allí despachaba a sus mensajeros con órdenes.

Los artilleros españoles deberían haber estado uniformados como aquí, pero en 1818 Sola escribía que no tenían qué vestirse, que los cañones eran defectuosos, carecían de municiones y los pocos artilleros estaban listados y eran inexpertos.



Commodore Bouchard answered the polite question most rudely by firing on the town's defenses. The harbor was guarded by a fort, which stood on the hill about a mile west of town, about 400 yards in front of the present Presidio Museum, and by a small hidden battery near the water's edge in a place then known as the *Mentidero*, because *Tío* Armenta and his friends met there to trade gossip. It is now the site of the concrete pier opposite Fisherman's Wharf. The fort had a wall facing the sea, where it mounted 10 brass 12-pounder cannon, but it was open and undefended on the land side. The little waterside battery had only three guns.

Bouchard's fire was answered by young Captain Don José de Jesús Vallejo, commanding the waterside battery, who shot his three guns at the black frigate (the Santa Rosa) and aimed so well that he opened several holes in the waterline, and did serious damage to the masts, spars, and rigging. Soon the frigate, in serious difficulties, ran up a white flag to surrender.

The main fort gave no help at all; its inexperienced artillerymen aimed too high and did no damage to the enemy. Lieutenant Estudillo, suffering from being separated from his famous wife, became useless with worry, and no one knew what to do about the enemy surrender. Governor Sola ordered young Vallejo to keep firing, but the commander of the upper fort, Don Manuel Gómez, commanded him to cease fire. One of Gómez's nephews was a lieutenant under Bouchard: some people said Gómez was working for the rebels.

El comodoro Bouchard contestó a esta cortés pregunta de la forma más ruda disparando contra las defensas de la ciudad. El puerto estaba guardado por un fuerte que se alzaba sobre una colina como a una milla al oeste de la ciudad, unas 400 yardas frente al actual Museo Presidio, y por una pequeña batería oculta cerca del borde del agua, en un lugar conocido entonces como el *Mentidero*, porque *Tío* Armenta y sus amigos se juntaban allí para intercambiar cotilleos. Hoy está ocupado por el muelle de cemento frente a Fisherman's Wharf. El fuerte tenía una muralla que miraba al mar, donde estaba montado un cañón de bronce de 12 libras, pero estaba al descubierto y sin defensa por el lado de tierra. La pequeña batería junto al agua tenía sólo tres cañones.

El fuego de Bouchard fue contestado por el joven capitán Don José de Jesús Vallejo, al mando de la batería junto al agua, el cual disparó sus tres cañones contra la negra fragata (el Santa Rosa) y apuntó tan bien que abrió varios boquetes en la línea de flotación, y causó gran daño a los mástiles, palos y aparejo. Pronto la fragata, en serias dificultades, enarboló una bandera blanca de rendición.

El fuerte principal no ayudó en absoluto; sus inexpertos artilleros apuntaban demasiado alto y no averiaron al enemigo. El teniente Estudillo, sufriendo por estar separado de su celestial mujer, quedó inútil con la preocupación, y nadie sabía qué hacer acerca de la rendición del enemigo. El gobernador Sola ordenó al joven Vallejo que siguiera disparando, pero el comandante del fuerte de arriba, Don Manuel Gómez, le ordenó el alto del fuego. Uno de los sobrinos de Gómez era teniente de Bouchard; algunos decían que Gómez trabajaba para los rebeldes.

Compañía de milicia activa de artillería de California.
The heavy artillery rent the air with its dreadful roar.
La artillería gruesa con espantoso estruendo rompía los vientos.

Bien es verdad que soy algo malicioso.

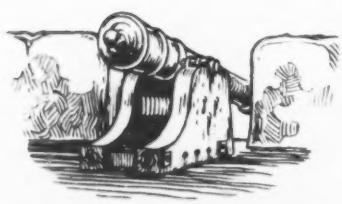
Cavalry ensign Estrada bravely took about 70 men to repel the enemy's landing. But Bouchard's force got ashore at the beach of Doña Brígida, Tío Armenta's wife, who grew all the vegetables consumed in Monterey. (This is now in Pacific Grove, about three miles west of the fort.) Estrada's men retreated heroically, firing a gun now and again. Before the troops in the fort could move their cannon to its undefended side, the enemy were charging it.

They rushed up with their band playing and a bloody-red flag flying.* The Sandwich Islanders led, carrying pikes.

As the enemy came into the fort, the defenders left hastily. Sgt. Ignacio Vallejo blew up a nearby ammunition dump, hoping to injure someone, but no harm was done, except to the ammunition. Bouchard's men now turned the Spanish guns on the town below, and Monterey was at their mercy. Its citizens had abandoned it, and the enemy entered into the grand capital of California.

Alvarado, one of Sola's adopted sons, later wrote, "Histories of maritime battles never before referred to an action as ridiculous as this. From beginning to end it was a series of blunders. Monterey at 9 in the morning could have sunk half the enemy forces, but by 3 in the afternoon it became the victim of its own fatal compassion, and flames and ashes were the harvest it reaped."

* The bloody-red flag, when raised by pirates, meant that no quarter would be given. You can learn all about this and more in the Bellerophon Book of PIRATES, just 2.95 at your store or write us.



Puede que los cañones del fuerte estuvieran montados así, pero probablemente eran piezas de campaña sobre ruedas. Posiblemente los artilleros españoles no iban de uniforme, sino con traje ranchero.

The guns in the fort may have been mounted like this, but they were probably wheeled field pieces. The Spanish artillerymen were probably not in full uniform, but in ranchero gear.

El alférez de caballería Estrada tomó valerosamente setenta hombres para rechazar el desembarco enemigo. Pero la fuerza de Bouchard desembarcó en la playa de Doña Brígida, la mujer de Tío Armenta, la cual criaba todas las verduras consumidas en Monterey. (Está hoy en Pacific Grove, unas tres millas al oeste del fuerte). Los hombres de Estrada se retiraron heroicamente, disparando de vez en cuando. Antes de que las tropas del fuerte pudieran trasladar su cañón al lado indefenso, el enemigo lo estaba atacando.

Se precipitaron al son de su banda, enarbolando una bandera color sangre, lo cual significaba que no darían cuartel. Los isleños de las Sandwich iban en cabeza, portando picas.

Conforme el enemigo entraba en el fuerte, los defensores salían a la desbandada. El sargento Ignacio Vallejo voló un depósito de munición. Entonces, los hombres de Bouchard volvieron los cañones sobre la ciudad, abajo, y Monterey estaba a su merced. Sus ciudadanos la habían abandonado y el enemigo irrumpió en la gran capital de California.

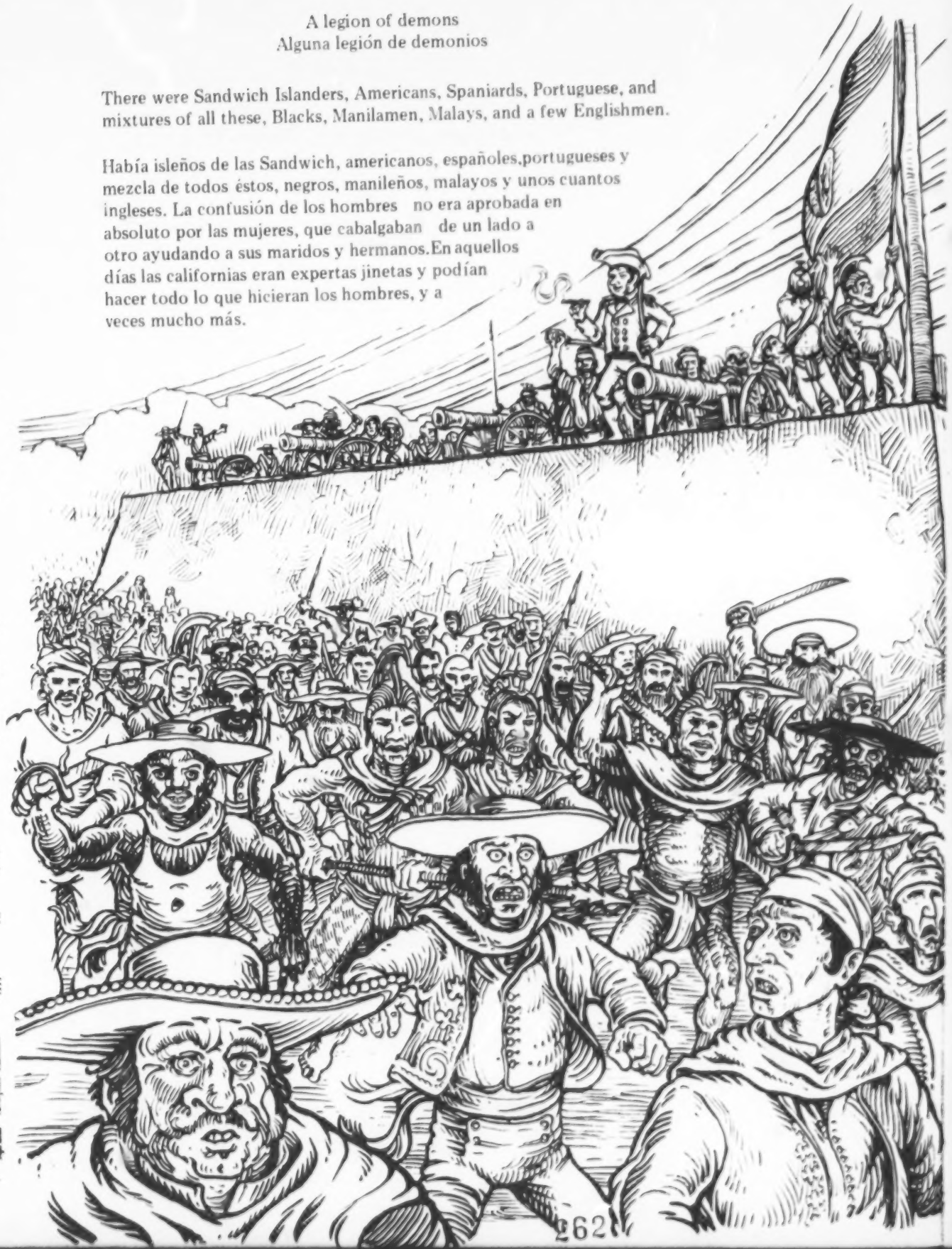
Withdrawing is not flight.

Alvarado, uno de los hijos adoptivos de Sola, escribió más tarde: "Las historias de batallas navales nunca habían referido antes una acción tan ridícula como ésta. De principio al fin fue una serie de disparates. Monterey a las nueve de la mañana podía haber hundido la mitad de las fuerzas enemigas, pero para las tres de la tarde se convirtió en la víctima de su propia y fatal compasión, y llamas y cenizas fueron la cosecha que segó."

A legion of demons
Alguna legión de demonios

There were Sandwich Islanders, Americans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and mixtures of all these, Blacks, Manilamen, Malays, and a few Englishmen.

Había isleños de las Sandwich, americanos, españoles,portugueses y mezcla de todos éstos, negros, manileños, malayos y unos cuantos ingleses. La confusión de los hombres no era aprobada en absoluto por las mujeres, que cabalgaban de un lado a otro ayudando a sus maridos y hermanos.En aquellos días las californias eran expertas jinetas y podían hacer todo lo que hicieran los hombres, y a veces mucho más.



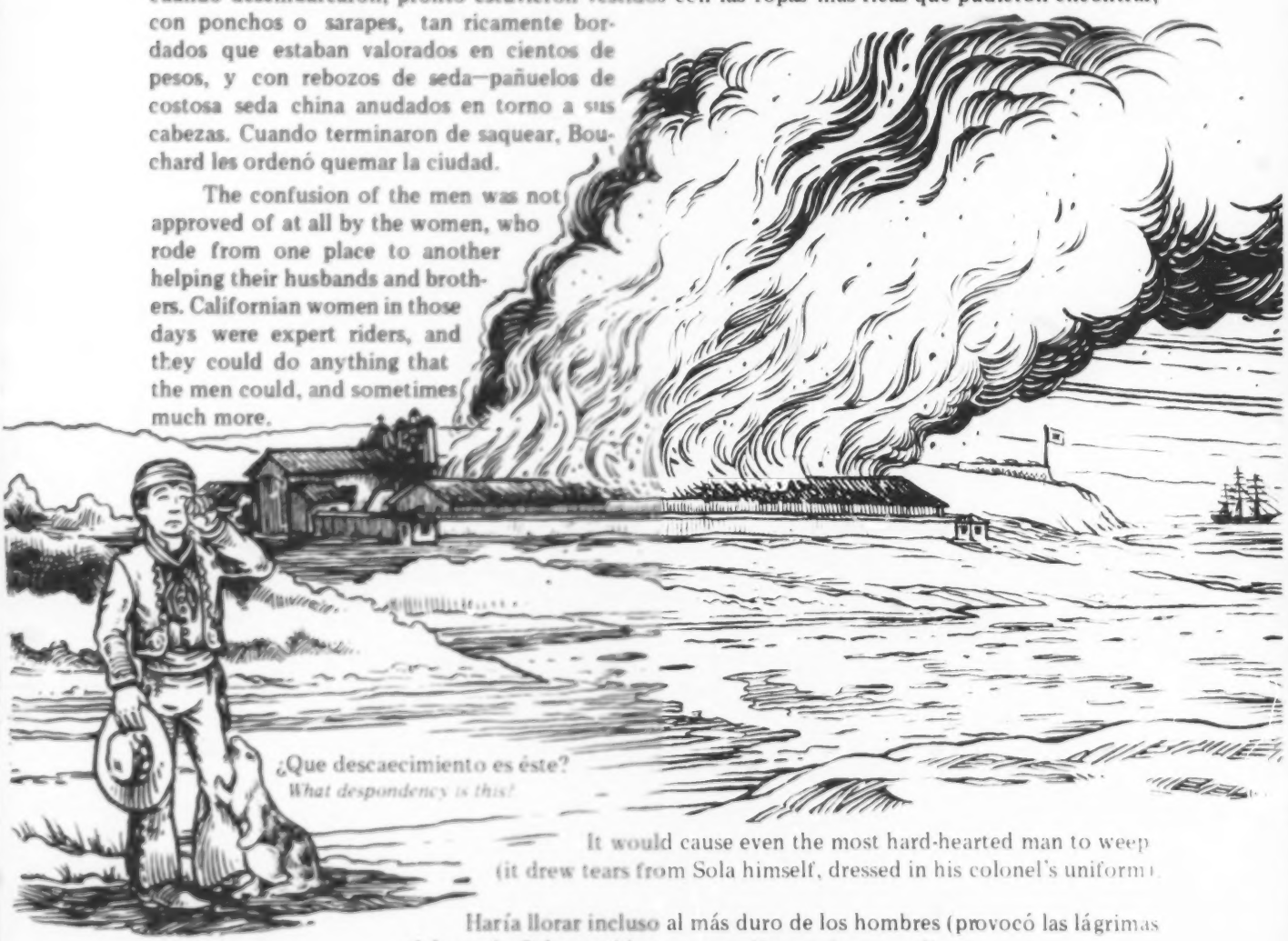
Bouchard's men had complete possession of Monterey, and now they behaved less like the soldiers they claimed to be, than like the pirates they were called by the loyal Californians, who could not imagine that any rebel against their King could be anything but a criminal.

Bouchard's sailors searched the houses for money, breaking and destroying anything they could not use. The Sandwich Islanders, who were quite naked when they landed, soon were dressed in the richest clothes they could find, with ponchos, or serapes, so richly embroidered that they were valued at hundreds of pesos, and silk rebozos—expensive China silk handkerchiefs to wrap around their heads. When they finished looting, Bouchard ordered them to burn the town.

Los hombres de Bouchard tomaron posesión completa de Monterey, y entonces se comportaron menos como los soldados que alegaban ser y más como los piratas que les denominaban los leales californios, los cuales no podían imaginar que ningún rebelde contra su Rey pudiera ser algo más que un criminal.

Los marineros de Bouchard registraron las casas en busca de dinero, rompiendo y destruyendo todo lo que no podían usar. Los isleños de las Sandwich, que estaban completamente desnudos cuando desembarcaron, pronto estuvieron vestidos con las ropas más ricas que pudieron encontrar, con ponchos o sarapes, tan ricamente bordados que estaban valorados en cientos de pesos, y con rebozos de seda—pañuelos de costosa seda china anudados en torno a sus cabezas. Cuando terminaron de saquear, Bouchard les ordenó quemar la ciudad.

The confusion of the men was not approved of at all by the women, who rode from one place to another helping their husbands and brothers. Californian women in those days were expert riders, and they could do anything that the men could, and sometimes much more.



¿Que descaecimiento es éste?
What despondency is this!

It would cause even the most hard-hearted man to weep (it drew tears from Sola himself, dressed in his colonel's uniform).

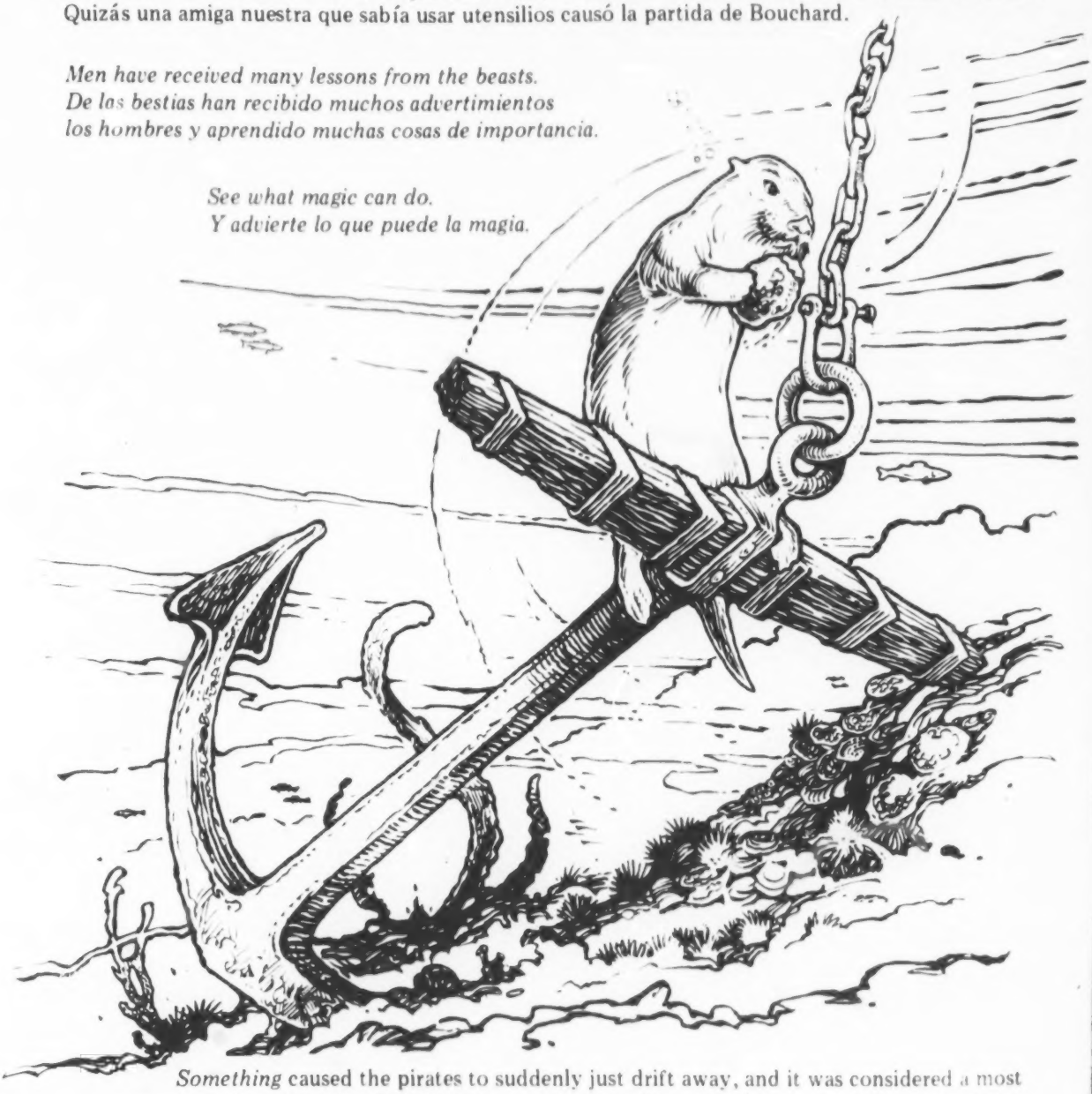
Haría llorar incluso al más duro de los hombres (provocó las lágrimas del propio Sola, vestido con su uniforme de coronel).

Governor Sola and his scattered army waited at Rancho del Rey, now Salinas town, expecting Bouchard and his men to attack the rich missions of the interior next in their war against the King of Spain, and fearing that they would not be able to stop them. But, as wise Sancho Panza says, "Heaven's help is better than early rising," and with no effort from the Governor's army, Bouchard's fleet just slipped away. No one knew why. History never tells us everything that happened, and not everything that history tells us is true; perhaps a friend of ours who knew how to use tools started Bouchard's departure.

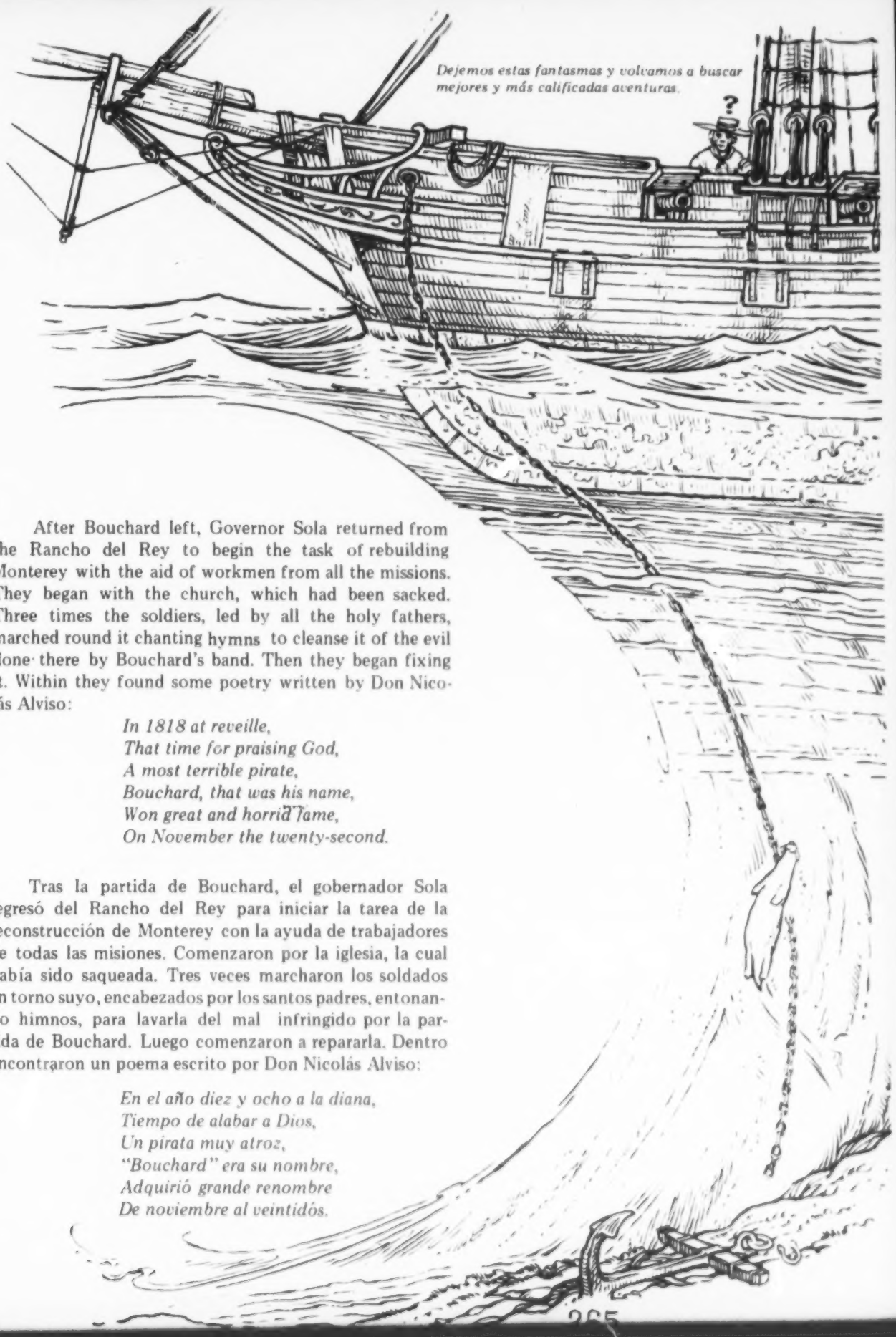
El gobernador Sola y su disperso ejército aguardaron en el Rancho del Rey, hoy la ciudad de Salinas, esperando que Bouchard y sus hombres atacaran las ricas misiones del interior como paso siguiente en su guerra contra el Rey de España, y temiendo que no podrían detenerles. Pero, como dice el sabio Sancho, "La ayuda del cielo es mejor que un buen madrugón," y sin empeño de parte del ejército del gobernador, la flota de Bouchard se escabulló, zarpó rumbo al sur. Nadie supo por qué. La historia nunca nos dice todo lo que ocurrió, y no todo lo que la historia nos cuenta es verdad. Quizás una amiga nuestra que sabía usar utensilios causó la partida de Bouchard.

Men have received many lessons from the beasts.
De las bestias han recibido muchos advertimientos
los hombres y aprendido muchas cosas de importancia.

See what magic can do.
Y advierte lo que puede la magia.



Something caused the pirates to suddenly just drift away, and it was considered a most marvelous thing that San Carlos Mission was left standing. *Algo* hizo que los piratas se alejaran súbitamente, y se consideró una maravilla que la Misión de San Carlos quedara en pie.



After Bouchard left, Governor Sola returned from the Rancho del Rey to begin the task of rebuilding Monterey with the aid of workmen from all the missions. They began with the church, which had been sacked. Three times the soldiers, led by all the holy fathers, marched round it chanting hymns to cleanse it of the evil done there by Bouchard's band. Then they began fixing it. Within they found some poetry written by Don Nicolás Alviso:

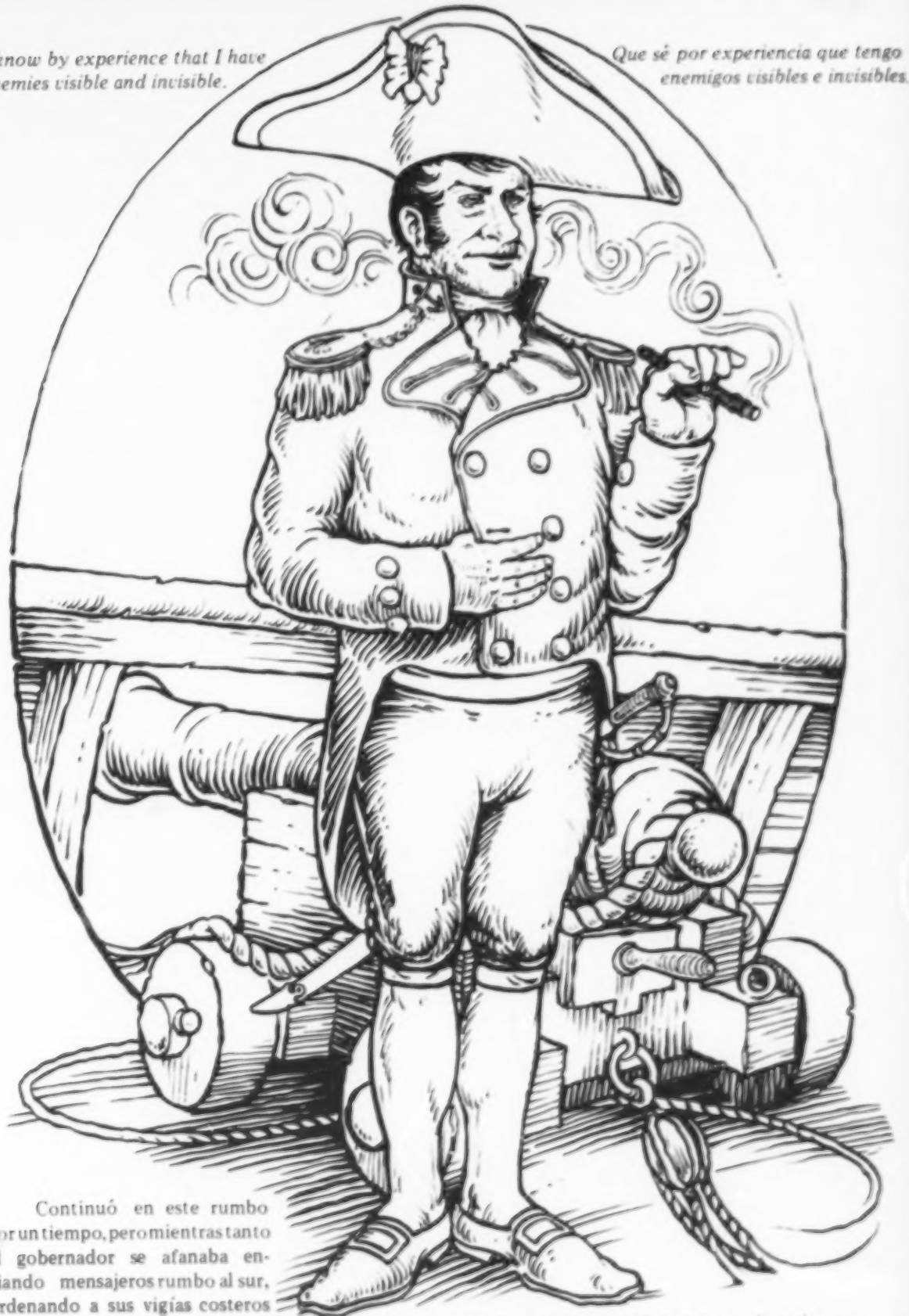
In 1818 at reveille,
That time for praising God,
A most terrible pirate,
Bouchard, that was his name,
Won great and horrid fame,
On November the twenty-second.

Tras la partida de Bouchard, el gobernador Sola regresó del Rancho del Rey para iniciar la tarea de la reconstrucción de Monterey con la ayuda de trabajadores de todas las misiones. Comenzaron por la iglesia, la cual había sido saqueada. Tres veces marcharon los soldados en torno suyo, encabezados por los santos padres, entonando himnos, para lavarla del mal infringido por la partida de Bouchard. Luego comenzaron a repararla. Dentro encontraron un poema escrito por Don Nicolás Alviso:

En el año diez y ocho a la diana,
Tiempo de alabar a Dios,
Un pirata muy atroz,
"Bouchard" era su nombre,
Adquirió grande renombre
De noviembre al veintidós.

I know by experience that I have enemies visible and invisible.

Que sé por experiencia que tengo enemigos visibles e invisibles.



Continuó en este rumbo por un tiempo, pero mientras tanto el gobernador se afanaba enviando mensajeros rumbo al sur, ordenando a sus vigías costeros que tuvieran cuidado de Bouchard y dieran la alarma a los colonos en cuanto alguno pretendiera desembarcar. Nuestros californios cabalgaron hacia el sur por la costa, rara vez perdiendo de vista a Bouchard.

He went on in this way at some length, but meanwhile the Governor was busy sending messengers south, telling his coast-watchers to look out for Bouchard and alarm the settlers whenever anyone tried to land. Our *dos* Californios rode south along the coast, seldom letting Bouchard out of sight

They galloped along the upper Santa Barbara Channel, the land of the *Canaleños* at Refugio Cove, just below Point Conception. Here the land belonged to the rich Ortegas, who made a fortune smuggling. By moonlight, and even in broad daylight, they met Yankee sailors on the Santa Barbara Islands to trade sea otter skins for Yankee merchandise. The mission fathers did not report or stop this illegal traffic because they got some of the profits, and business prospered miraculously.

The Ortega adobe at Arroyo Hondo near Refugio Cove

Bouchard's crew, lured by rumors of Ortega gold, descended to punish the Ortegamen for this lucrative trade. They robbed, then burned the Refugio Ranch buildings which were probably located where the highway now stands, opposite the State Park. The Ortegas built further up the canyon, but those buildings too are now gone. However, descendents of the Ortegas, the oldest Spanish family in California, still live nearby in a lovely adobe at Arroyo Hondo, which you can see from the highway going north from Refugio.

At Refugio Bouchard's crew lost a lieutenant from Boston and two seamen, captured by lassos and put in the stocks for all to jeer at. Bouchard, undiscouraged, thought of ascending the Cuesta de Santa Ines to plunder the mission of that name. (The road there from Refugio has changed little since the mission days: take it if you would like a taste of what travel was like in old California.)

But, as Sancho says, "Fortune leaves always some door open to serve as a remedy," and a sudden mysterious misadventure forced Bouchard to sail on and repair his rudder. Underwater warfare is not so recent an invention as some think.

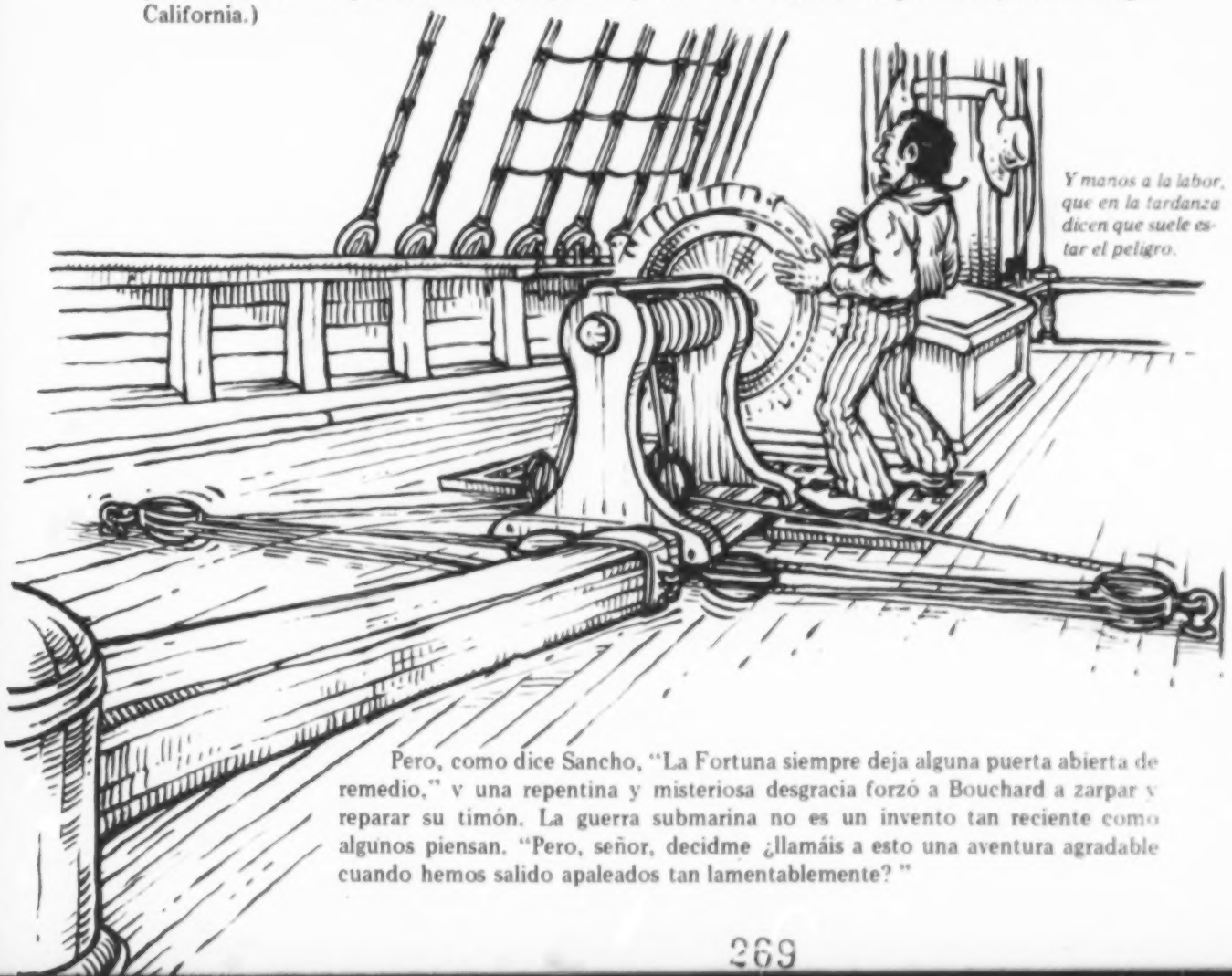
Cañada del Refugio

The 1812 earthquake is said to have carried an American sea captain up the canyon and back down again. The surfers there now would have loved this!

Galoparon a lo largo del Canal superior de Santa Bárbara, la tierra de los *Canaleños* en Refugio Grove, justo bajo Point Conception. Allí la tierra pertenecía a los ricos Ortegas, que hicieron fortuna contrabandeando. A la luz de la luna, e incluso en pleno día, se reunían con marineros yanquis en las islas de Santa Bárbara para traficar pieles de nutria por mercancía yanquí. Los padres de la misión no informaban acerca de este tráfico ilegal, ni intentaron detenerlo porque ellos obtenían parte de los beneficios, y el negocio prosperó milagrosamente.

La tripulación de Bouchard, atraída por los rumores del oro de Ortega, bajó para castigar a los hombres de Ortega por este lucrativo negocio. Robaron, y quemaron luego el Rancho Refugio, que estaba probablemente situado donde está hoy la carretera, frente al Parque Estatal. Los Ortegas volvieron a construir más arriba del cañón, pero aquellas edificaciones también han desaparecido hoy. Sin embargo, unos descendientes de los Ortegas, la familia española más antigua de California, viven aún cerca, en una encantadora casa de adobe en Arroyo Hondo, que puedes ver desde la carretera yendo hacia el norte desde Refugio.

En Refugio la tripulación de Bouchard perdió un teniente de Boston y dos marinos, capturados a lazo y puestos en el cepo para que todos se burlaran. Bouchard, sin desalentarse, pensó en subir la Cuesta de Santa Inés para saquear la misión de ese nombre. (La carretera desde Refugio ha cambiado poco desde los tiempos de la misión; síguela si quieres una muestra de lo que era viajar en la antigua California.)



Y manos a la labor, que en la tardanza dicen que suele estar el peligro.

Pero, como dice Sancho, "La Fortuna siempre deja alguna puerta abierta de remedio," y una repentina y misteriosa desgracia forzó a Bouchard a zarpar y reparar su timón. La guerra submarina no es un invento tan reciente como algunos piensan. "Pero, señor, decidme ¿llamáis a esto una aventura agradable cuando hemos salido apaleados tan lamentablemente? "

Bouchard sailed on south, followed by Spanish troops on the shore. By the evening of the 8th of December, he was off the town and mission of Santa Barbara. The citizens there, having heard of the destruction of Monterey and Refugio, had fled the town.

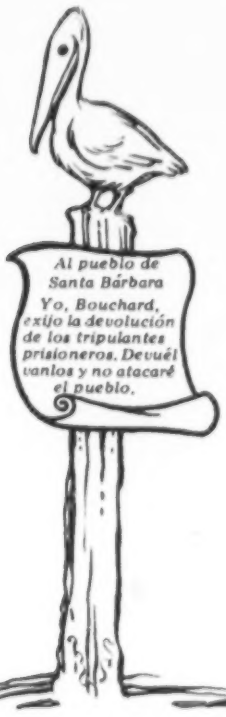
Bouchard zarpó rumbo al sur, seguido de las tropas españolas por la costa. Para la mañana del ocho de diciembre estaba cerca del pueblo y misión de Santa Bárbara. Allí, los habitantes, enterados de la destrucción de Monterey y Refugio, habían huido.

Is that not Bellerophon's horse?
¿No es ése el caballo de Belerofonte?

Mission Santa Barbara, founded 1786 by *Padre Lasuén*
New churches were built here in 1787, 1789, 1793; the last one was destroyed by the 1812 earthquake. A new church was nearing completion when Bouchard arrived.

The *Comandante* of Santa Barbara, Captain José de la Guerra, thought the enemy would not dare approach his shore, because the anchoring ground near Santa Barbara was dangerous in winter. But he prepared a defense, and Padre Ripoll organized a force of Indian lancers and archers. Everyone hoped that Saint Barbara, the patroness of the formidable Spanish artillery which had daunted Bouchard at Monterey, would defend her town. December fourth had been her day, and many prayers had been made to her.

But Bouchard anchored, and ran up a flag of truce. He sent ashore a letter, which he left on a stick stuck into the sand, saying that if his captured men were returned to him, he would spare the town and leave the coast. Although his men were returned to him, that was not what made Bouchard flee from Santa Barbara, the town where the Spanish jailed the hunters of sea otters. Another mysterious event struck fear in the hearts of his crew, who never knew what had frightened them; but we, who know that sea otters like to wrap themselves in kelp, may perhaps understand more than they did. A mere bagatelle of gratitude, this, to a lovely town.



Bouchard went on to the anchorage at Santa Cruz Island, where he found water and firewood. No one fought him here: the Indians of the channel islands had been killed by sea otter hunters.

The new mission church at Santa Barbara, above, begun in 1815 after the old one was destroyed in the 1812 earthquake, was just nearing completion at this time. Timbers were brought down from Santa Cruz by the American Captain Wilcox, the walls were strongly built of hewn stone with good buttresses, and there was a tower (not shown in any illustration) of two stories with six bells. It had a plastered, frescoed ceiling, marbled columns, and was said to be strong, neat, and agreeable.

El comandante de Santa Bárbara, capitán José de la Guerra, pensó que el enemigo no se atrevería a acercarse a tierra, porque el fondeadero cerca de Santa Bárbara era peligroso en invierno. Pero se aprestó a la defensa, y el Padre Ripoll organizó una tropa de lanceros y arqueros indios. Todos esperaban que Santa Bárbara, patrona de la formidable artillería española—que había espantado a Bouchard en Monterey—defendería la localidad. Su fiesta había sido el cuatro de diciembre y se le habían ofrecido muchas rogativas.

A later church in the *Santa Barbara Presidio*, which had been founded 1782 by Governor *Filipe de Neve* and dedicated by *Padre Serra*

A new presidio chapel was built in 1813 of wood. Here in 1818 was Capt. de la Guerra, who challanged Bouchard to a duel.

Bouchard fondeó y enarboló una bandera de tregua. Envió a tierra una carta, que dejó en un palo clavado en la arena, diciendo que si se le devolvían los hombres que le habían sido capturados perdonaría al pueblo y dejaría la costa. Aunque le fueron devueltos sus hombres, esto no fue lo que hizo huir a Bouchard de Santa Bárbara, el pueblo donde los españoles encarcelaban a los cazadores de nutrias. Otro misterioso suceso sembró el miedo en los corazones de su tripulación, que nunca supo lo que les había atemorizado; pero nosotros, que sabemos que a las nutrias les gusta envolverse en algas, quizá podamos comprender mejor que ellos. Una mera bagatela de gratitud, ésta, para un pueblo encantador.

Bouchard continuó hasta el fondeadero de la isla de Santa Cruz, donde encontró agua y leña. Nadie le combatió allí; los indios de las islas del canal habían sido muertos por cazadores de nutrias.

Aquí sí que fue el erizarse los cabellos de todos, de puro espanto.
Everyone's hair stood on end in pure horror.

Not everyone is sufficiently intelligent to be able to see things from the right point of view.
No son todas las personas tan discretas que sepan poner en su punto las cosas.

Mission San Buenaventura, founded 1784 by *Padre Serra*

Bouchard didn't stop here. This mission was famous for its magnificent gardens, and he couldn't take those with him.

Bouchard sailed on past the Mission Ranchería of Santa Monica to the anchorage at San Pedro. His spies signalled to him not to land; Los Angeles had sent out a large force of citizen soldiers to defend the coast. Bouchard continued southward, anchoring in the inlet at San Juan Capistrano.

He sent a message ashore to say that he would spare the mission if it gave him a supply of provisions. Alférez Santiago Arguello, sent up from the presidio at San Diego to defend the town, replied that if Bouchard chose to land, they would be happy to supply him with more powder and shot than he could digest. Bouchard was enraged by this defiance, and he and his crew agreed to loot and burn the town.

Arguello's men failed to live up to their brave words, and soon the town was Bouchard's. But the pirate crew was conquered by other means here.

Mission San Fernando Rey de España, founded 1797 by *Padre Lasuén*

Exquisite wines from San Fernando, made with secret formulae, were sent for the relief of Monterey in 1818.

Bouchard navegó pasando la misión Ranchería de Santa Mónica hasta el fondeadero de San Pedro. Sus espías le hicieron señales de no desembarcar; Los Angeles había dispuesto una gran tropa de milicia para defender la costa. Bouchard continuó rumbo al sur, fondeando en la ensenada de San Juan Capistrano.

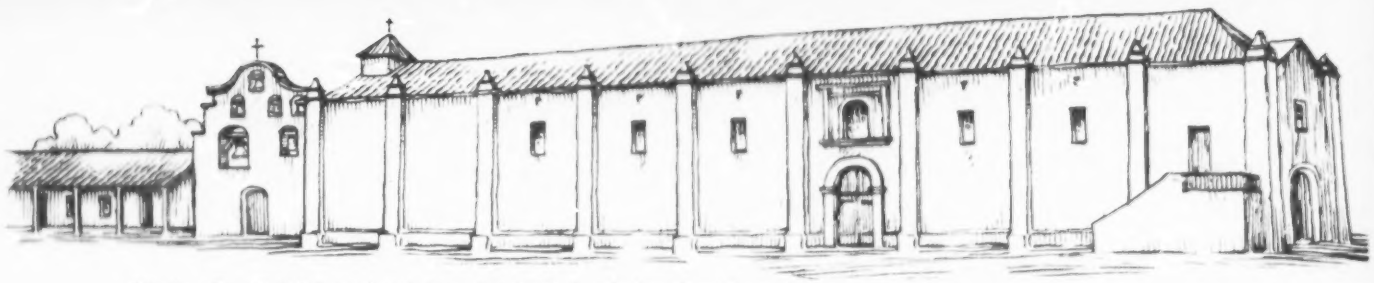
Envió un mensaje a tierra para decir que perdonaría a la misión si le daba provisiones. El alférez Santiago Arguello, enviado desde el presidio de San Diego para defender el pueblo, replicó que si Bouchard decidía desembarcar, ellos estarían contentos de proporcionarles más pólvora y proyectiles de lo que podían digerir. Bouchard se enfureció con este desafío, y él y su tripulación acordaron saquear y quemar la población.

Los hombres de Arguello no lograron cumplir sus valientes palabras, y pronto el pueblo era de Bouchard. Pero la tripulación pirata fue conquistada por otros medios.

Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles, founded 1781

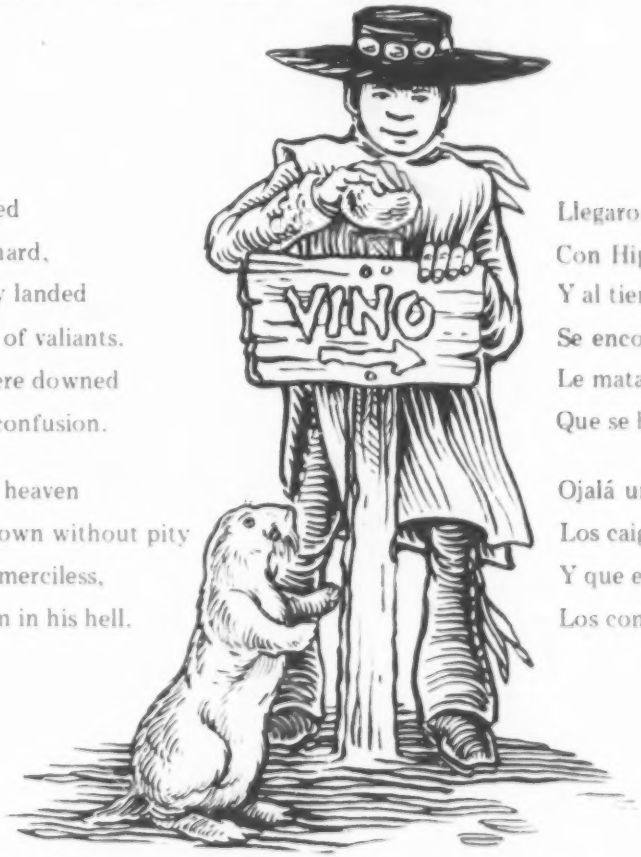
The Church of the *Pueblo* of *Los Angeles*, finished 1822-23

The missions contributed brandy for the building fund of the church. This was converted into money as the citizens drank immense quantities in their zeal for the town's spiritual welfare. Bancroft



Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, founded 1771 by *Padres Cambón and Somera*
In 1818, oranges and pomegranates were sent from San Gabriel to feed the Monteryeños.

Bouchard's men found little money, but someone helped them discover the town's many underground hiding places, in which were concealed a great deal of wine and spirits from the ten huge stills at San Luis Rey Mission. Bouchard's men decided to drink their loot, and soon were all quite roaring—some so much so that they had to be tied on top of the field guns and dragged back to the beach. They were in no shape to fight a battle or burn a town.



The insurgents arrived
With Hipolito Bouchard,
And at the time they landed
Were met by a band of valiants.
Many of his crew were downed
And they all fell in confusion.

Ah, that a bolt from heaven
Would strike them down without pity
And that Satan, the merciless,
Would consume them in his hell.

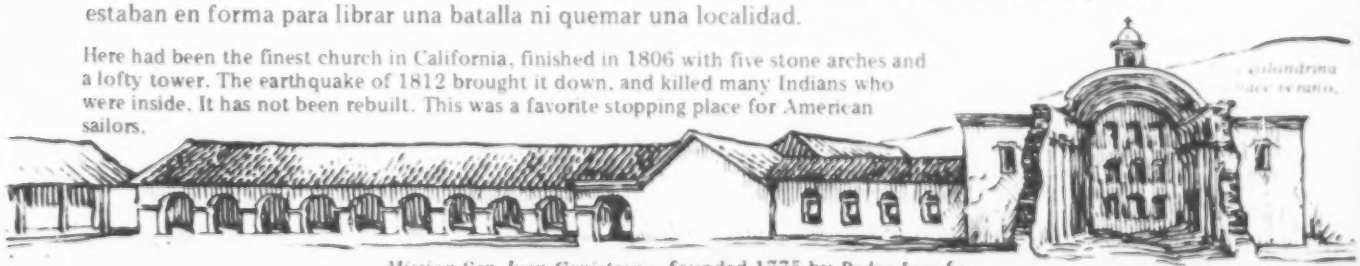
Llegaron los insurgentes
Con Hipólito Buchar,
Y al tiempo de desembarcar
Se encontró con los valientes.
Le mataron muchas gentes
Que se hicieron remolinos.

Ojalá un rayo del cielo
Los caiga sin caridad,
Y que el Diablo sin piedad
Los consuma hasta el infierno.

—Nicolás Alviso, 1818

Los hombre de Bouchard encontraron poco dinero, pero alguien les ayudó a descubrir los numerosos escondrijos subterráneos del pueblo, en los cuales habia oculto gran cantidad de vino y licor procedente de diez enormes alambiques de la misión de San Luis Rey. Los hombres de Bouchard decidieron beber su botín, y pronto estuvieron todos bien bulliciosos—algunos tanto que tuvieron que ser atados sobre los cañones de campaña y ser arrastrados de vuelta a la playa. No estaban en forma para librar una batalla ni quemar una localidad.

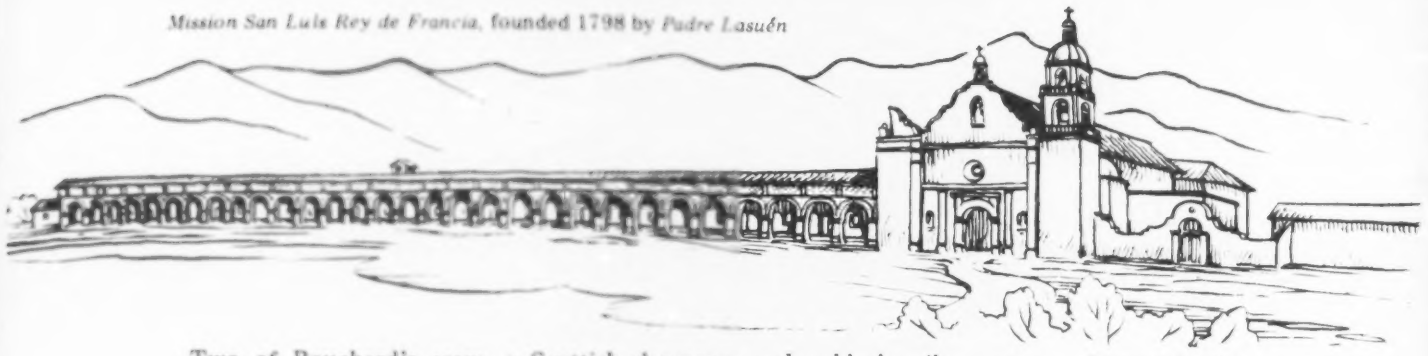
Here had been the finest church in California, finished in 1806 with five stone arches and a lofty tower. The earthquake of 1812 brought it down, and killed many Indians who were inside. It has not been rebuilt. This was a favorite stopping place for American sailors.



Mission San Juan Capistrano, founded 1775 by *Padre Lasuén*

Esta es una grande y puntual historia.

Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, founded 1798 by *Padre Lasuén*



Two of Bouchard's crew, a Scottish drummer and a black sailor, were so disgusted with Bouchard's incompetent ways that they deserted, and joined the Californios.

Bouchard and his crew sailed for San Diego, but the rough sea combined with their headaches and disturbed stomachs to make them most unhappy. They wanted no more of Alta California.

San Diego's harbor had an entrance narrow enough that the soldiers could bar it with a heavy iron chain. Their fort was well manned, and Bouchard's queasy crew didn't even test the aim of their famous cannon. They left Alta California, sick of their adventure, while our *dos*, now *cuatro*, Californios, galloped on to celebrate with the beautiful girls of San Diego the end of the greatest peril ever to face Spanish California. Content they were with their victories; and as Sancho says, "when one's content, there's nothing more to desire; and when there is nothing more to desire, there's an end of it."

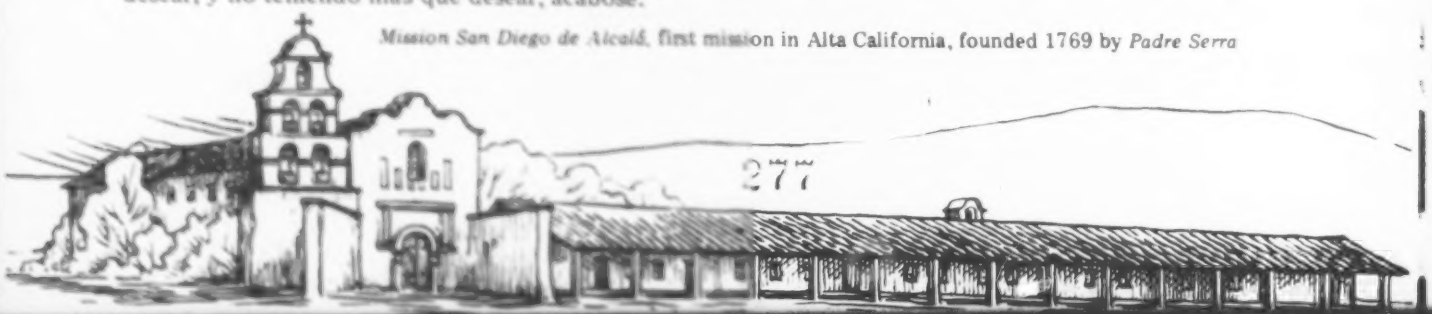
The Californians may be said to have formed one big family, M.G. Vallejo

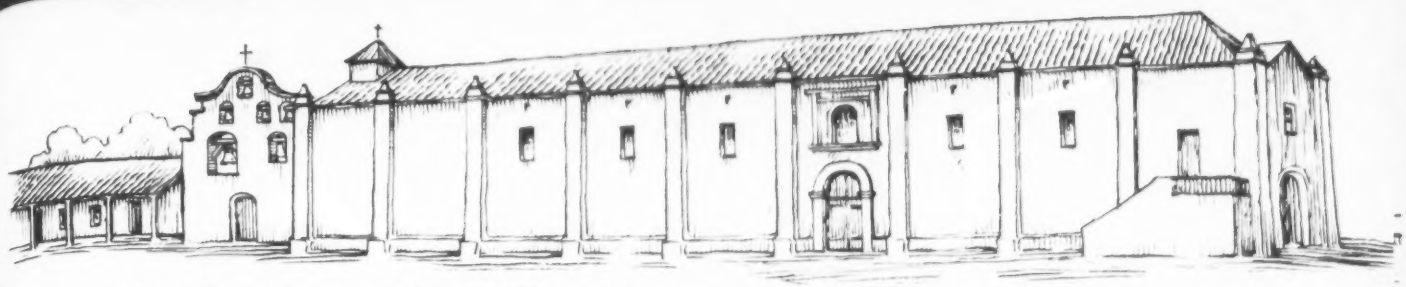
Dos de la tripulación de Bouchard, un tambor escocés y un marinero negro, estaban tan hastiados de las inadmisibles maneras de Bouchard que desertaron y se unieron a los californios.

Bouchard y su tripulación zarparon para San Diego, pero el tempestuoso mar se combinó con sus dolores de cabeza y revueltos estómagos para hacerles de lo más desgraciados ¡No querían más de Alta California!

El puerto de San Diego tenía una entrada tan estrecha que los soldados podían atrancarla con una pesada cadena de hierro. Su fuerte estaba bien guarnecido, y la nauseabunda tripulación de Bouchard ni siquiera comprobó la puntería de su famoso cañón. Dejaron Alta California, hartos de su aventura, mientras nuestros dos, ahora cuatro, californios, galopaban para celebrar con las preciosas chicas de San Diego el fin del mayor peligro que nunca afrontó la California española. Estaban contentos con sus victorias, y como dice Sancho: "en estando uno contento, no tiene más que desear, y no teniendo más que desear, acabóse."

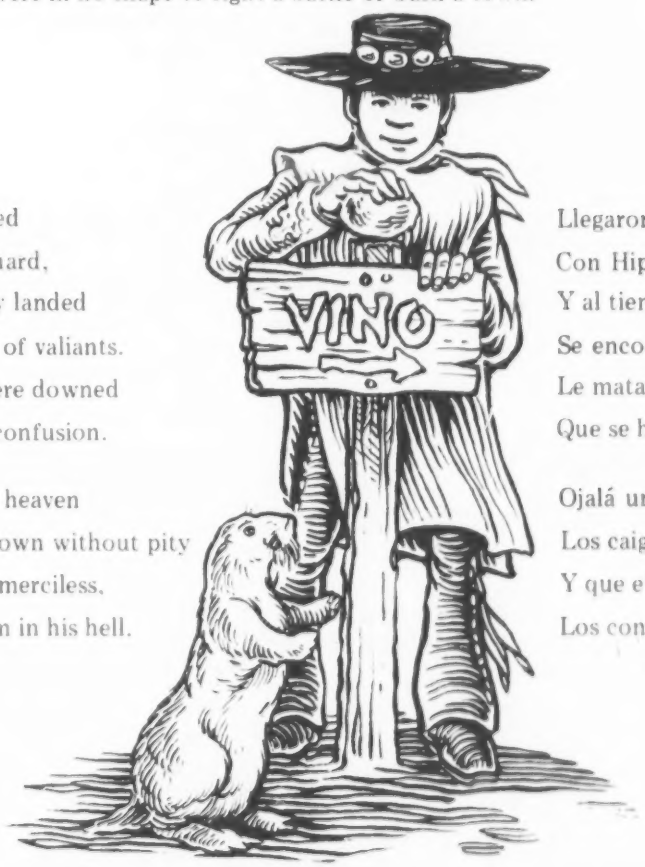
Mission San Diego de Alcalá, first mission in Alta California, founded 1769 by *Padre Serra*





Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, founded 1771 by *Padres Cambón and Somera*
In 1818, oranges and pomegranates were sent from San Gabriel to feed the Monteryeños.

Bouchard's men found little money, but someone helped them discover the town's many underground hiding places, in which were concealed a great deal of wine and spirits from the ten huge stills at San Luis Rey Mission. Bouchard's men decided to drink their loot, and soon were all quite roaring—some so much so that they had to be tied on top of the field guns and dragged back to the beach. They were in no shape to fight a battle or burn a town.



The insurgents arrived
With Hipolito Bouchard,
And at the time they landed
Were met by a band of valiants.
Many of his crew were downed
And they all fell in confusion.

Ah, that a bolt from heaven
Would strike them down without pity
And that Satan, the merciless,
Would consume them in his hell.

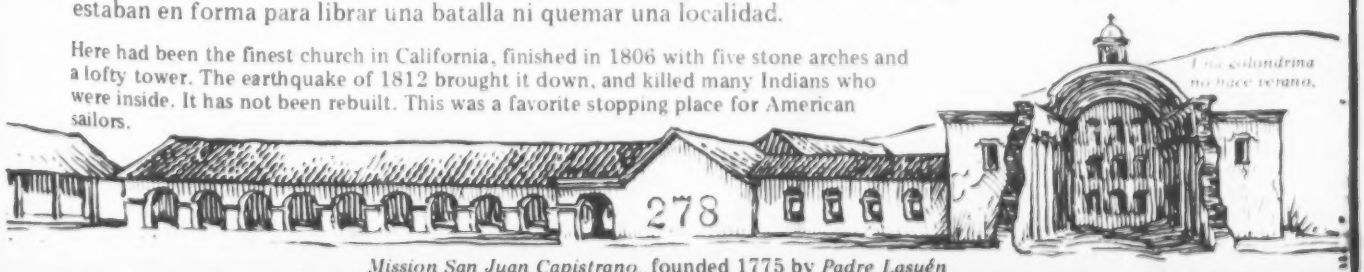
Llegaron los insurgentes
Con Hipólito Buchar,
Y al tiempo de desembarcar
Se encontró con los valientes.
Le mataron muchas gentes
Que se hicieron remolinos.

Ojalá un rayo del cielo
Los caiga sin caridad,
Y que el Diablo sin piedad
Los consuma hasta el infierno.

—Nicolás Alviso, 1818

Los hombre de Bouchard encontraron poco dinero, pero alguien les ayudó a descubrir los numerosos escondrijos subterráneos del pueblo, en los cuales habia oculto gran cantidad de vino y licor procedente de diez enormes alambiques de la misión de San Luis Rey. Los hombres de Bouchard decidieron beber su botín, y pronto estuvieron todos bien bulliciosos—algunos tanto que tuvieron que ser atados sobre los cañones de campaña y ser arrastrados de vuelta a la playa. No estaban en forma para librar una batalla ni quemar una localidad.

Here had been the finest church in California, finished in 1806 with five stone arches and a lofty tower. The earthquake of 1812 brought it down, and killed many Indians who were inside. It has not been rebuilt. This was a favorite stopping place for American sailors.



Mission San Juan Capistrano, founded 1775 by *Padre Lasuén*